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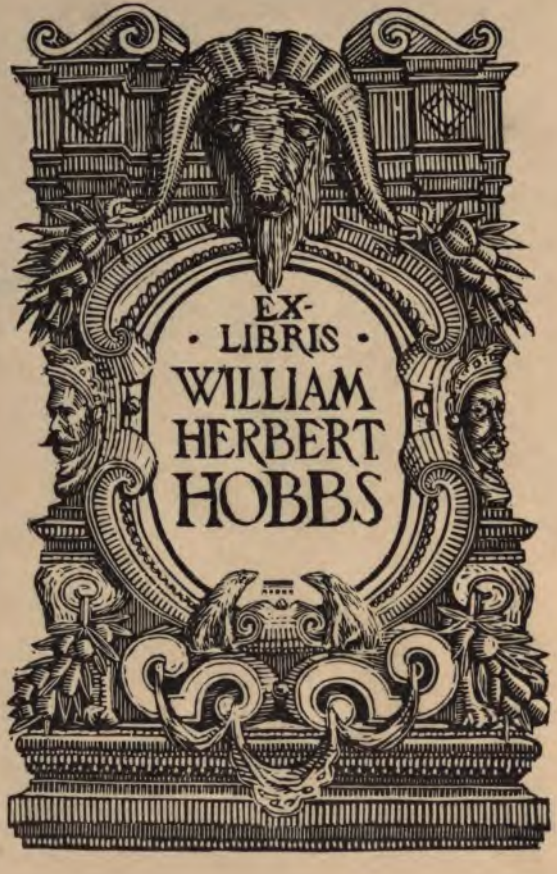
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HAS THE NORTH POLE BEEN DISCOVERED?

THOMAS F. HALL


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the Author

THOMAS F. HAL
220 GRAIN EXCHANG
OMAHA, NEBR.

HAS THE NORTH POLE BEEN DISCOVERED?

An Analytical and Synthetical Review of the Published Narratives of the Two Arctic Explorers

DR. FREDERICK A. COOK AND

CIVIL ENGINEER ROBERT E. PEARY, U. S. N.

Also a Review of the Action of the U. S. Government

BY THOMAS F. HALL

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, CHARTS, DIAGRAMS AND TABLES



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The Gorham Press, Boston, U. S. A.

TO

MRS. WILLIAM FREDERICK HOWES,

The Captain's Wife,

my only known living shipmate on the beautiful sailing ship

BELLE OF THE WEST

way back in 'Sixty

voyaging on many seas.

"That dreadful year I gird me to relate,
And now, bent o'er my desk I hesitate,
Shall I go further on, or shall I stay?
O France! O grief! to see a star decay.
I feel the blush of rueful shame arise;
Plagues heaped on plagues, and woes on agonies.
Still must I on for truth and history;
The age stands at the bar,—the witness, I."

Hugo.

FOREWORD

"Between the pleasure of knowing the truth and the pleasure of seeking after it. I would choose the latter."—Schiller.

HISTORY is entitled to the truth in all vital matters. Therefore, the sole purpose of this book is to unfold the truth concerning the claims of Mr. Peary and Dr. Cook regarding the discovery of the North Pole. Although Congress, The National Geographic Society, Copenhagen University and various scientific bodies have taken action, the controversy is not settled. Consequently, the author feels it his duty to set forth the truth as he sees it after a careful analysis of the published statements of the two explorers.

If either Cook or Peary have actually been to the Pole, I can conceive of nothing more unfair than any attempt to rob him of his justly earned glory. It would be equally wrong to attempt to disprove his case simply on incredulity. I have, therefore, endeavored to present the claims of each explorer fairly that the reader may form an intelligent opinion. I believe that this analysis is unassailable, and I hope it will attract scientific minds. In the final estimate, the credibility of the explorer's story will be the true and only test as to the actual discoverer. It is impossible for an explorer who has traveled comparatively alone upon the Polar Sea to furnish actual proof of his claims, unless he discovers land or gets perfect soundings. It is equally impossible to disprove his claims except by his narrative. Inasmuch as neither Peary nor Cook has anything to submit as *proof* of being discoverer of the North Pole except a candid narrative, any attempt to unfold the truth must be, as this review is, an original analysis of the explorer's

reports. The opinion of others, even that of noted explorers, must be ignored. No polar explorer can reasonably be expected to deny the story of another polar explorer. He is himself similarly situated. It is best for him to accept it in silence or to endorse it, even though the nature of the achievement robs him of his own honors.

I have endeavored, however, not to overlook any publication of merit on either side. Some articles appealing only to prejudice and passion, I have passed unnoticed on the theory that whoever would be influenced by such appeals would care little for argument or reason. Vituperation, contumely, and scurrility should have no weight in making history. They are not considered factors in this discussion, but any valid testimony for either claimant is given a fair hearing.

From the first I saw nothing suspicious in Cook's story. I have since studied it carefully, have read the various criticisms and attempts to discredit it, have noted the decision of the Copenhagen University that he has not proved his case, and yet I am chained to my first impression that his story in the main is believable. Cook claims to have discovered land at 85 degrees north. This is the only positive statement of a physical fact in the two narratives. If the observations of future explorers confirm his statement, the world will to a great extent be convinced of his integrity. I have assumed that if Cook's narrative cannot be shown to be inconsistent with itself or with established facts, that his right to honor rests on exactly the same foundation as does that of any explorer who has preceded him, in the Arctic or the Antarctic Seas. They have no sounder claim except as the truth gives it to them. This will be history's verdict, and should be the judgment of the present.

Peary is entitled to the same consideration, and his narrative will be reviewed on exactly the same basis as that of Cook. Peary's story, however, impressed me immediately as insincere, and this opinion increased upon closer examination. The events which followed Peary's assertion of discovery tend, when

analyzed, to discredit his claim. My opinion is justified because it is based upon what Peary and his friends have said and done, all of which is a matter of record and therefore undeniable. The tables and diagrams herein relating to Peary's trip are not, strictly speaking, mine. They are Peary's, and are taken with fidelity from his own description exactly as he should have drawn them himself in his book. Shackleton includes such data, as do other explorers of like character. Peary's omission is, in itself, significant. At all events, as I publish them, they are a part of Peary's narrative presented in graphic form.

There is no pretense that this book is exhaustive, or that it is literature. It is offered in a sincere effort to present the truth and with the earnest hope that the reader will overlook the imperfections. I assure him that if he is a patriot and loves the truth that I have a message which it may repay him to peruse. The title of the book is a concession to popular expression, for the North Pole is in reality an imaginary pivot undiscoverable as the Equator. The achievement of an arctic explorer consists solely in the northing accomplished. The query herein discussed then is, accurately stated,—"Has anyone VISITED the point that is ninety degrees north of the Equator?"

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HAS THE NORTH POLE BEEN DISCOVERED?

INTRODUCTION

THE publishers think that readers of this book would be interested to know something of the author. That they might in that event have a more comprehensive view, a better prospective of the situation. Deferring to these opinions, I will give a brief account of myself.

I was born in East Dennis, Mass., in 1841. My father, my paternal and maternal grandfathers were seafaring men. They were masters, owners and managers of sailing ships. I naturally took to the sea.

At the age of 15, I started out before the mast in the sailing ship "Wild Hunter" on a voyage around the world. At 17, I made my second voyage around the world on the ship Belle of the West as *third* mate. At the age of 19, I made my third voyage on the same ship with the same captain but as *first* mate. I never was a second mate. On my fourth voyage, I was captain of the bark Egypt.

I quit the sea in 1865. I was not long at it; eight years; but I always made long voyages, and on those voyages I traversed the ocean spaces quite extensively. Every year, I was in some part of the Orient; and almost as often in Europe, South America and Australia. During this time, I crossed the equator in every sea through which it passes, and crossed it 20 times. I look back upon those few years at sea with exceedingly great interest and great pleasure.

On retiring from the sea, I married Amelia J. Crowell of West Yarmouth, Mass., and in March 1866 moved to Omaha, Nebr., where I have since resided. I have been constantly engaged in business affairs in this city and in the mountains west. I served the public one term in the legislature and six years postmaster.

I have always been interested in tales of discovery. When Peary was planning his last voyage and was delayed for want of funds, I was sorry for him. I wished then that I could have spared what was necessary and given it to him. I wondered how so many multi-millionaires could see him hampered as he was for want of sufficient money to equip himself for such an important undertaking. Had I been one of those multi-millionaires it seemed to me then that I would have supplied him with what he needed.

I must have read of Dr. Cook in Peary's books, but I had forgotten that such a person ever lived, when I read Cook's dispatch from Lerwick Islands that he had been to the North Pole. I was tremendously enthused over it and devoured every word of his first publication with a gluttonous appetite. I doubted his story, but hoped it was true. I did not and could not, at first, believe that it could possibly be truth. But I was determined from the beginning to study all the reports and fully satisfy myself. Mr. Stead's report from Copenhagen perhaps influenced me more than any other in Cook's favor. Still I was skeptical.

When Peary's dispatch came a week later stating that he also had been to the Pole, it may well be imagined that my interest then became intense. I almost abandoned all else for awhile in order to study every possible feature of the narratives of both explorers. I had no partiality for either as far as I know. My whole interest was to know for myself; to satisfy my own mind as to what was the truth, and to know it wholly and solely for my own gratification.

I had no thought of ever writing a word on the subject. I soon learned, however, that what I had discovered in my early researches was important for the public to know. I published a few short articles on special features in the local newspapers which attracted some attention, and as the Peary-Cook controversy rapidly unfolded, I soon realized that my self-imposed task had only begun. The research was so extremely fascinating and appeared to me to be so important for history, that

I could not rest until I felt in my soul, that I had completely mastered the subject in every possible detail.

I now feel that my findings and conclusions are beyond possible refutation. I have waited several years hoping that more learned persons would make the research and publish in substance what I have unearthed. But as I am advancing in years and fearing that some of my data may be lost, I have concluded to give posterity and history the result of my labors. I am not an educated man and writing is not my calling.

I am in hopes that what I have written may lead scientists to take up the subject where I leave it, and that through them the entire world will be convinced beyond cavil and beyond dispute, as to what is the truth in the alleged discovery of the North Pole.

PART I—PEARY

HAS THE NORTH POLE BEEN DISCOVERED

CHAPTER I

PEARY'S CLAIMS

A SYNOPSIS of the Cook-Peary controversy is a necessary basis for a discussion of their claims. On Sept. 1, 1909 the world was electrified by the news that the Danish Steamer "Hans Egede" touching at Lerwick, Shetland Islands had on board Dr. Frederick A. Cook of Brooklyn, New York, who claimed to have been to the North Pole on April 21, 1908. The "Hans Egede" proceeded to Copenhagen where Cook was honored with unparalleled enthusiasm by the world. In the midst of the festivities, news was received that Robert E. Peary on the Steamer "Roosevelt" had arrived at Indian Harbor, Labrador, and that he had reached the Pole on April 6, 1909. Peary's wireless dispatch came a few days later saying: "Cook's story should not be taken too seriously. The Eskimos who accompanied him say he did not go far from land." This was the beginning of a controversy which raged for many months. At first public sympathy was with Cook who lectured and published in installments a complete story of his travels. Peary's method of attack, the apparent jealousy which inspired it, and the vagueness of his charges, lost him friends for a time. The supporters of Peary however, renewed the onslaught on Cook and finally brought about his complete discomfiture. As a result, Cook disheartened and unable to stand the nervous and mental strain, expatriated himself and was lost to view. Peary then published an abridged story of his journey and took the lecture platform, but soon he too retired.

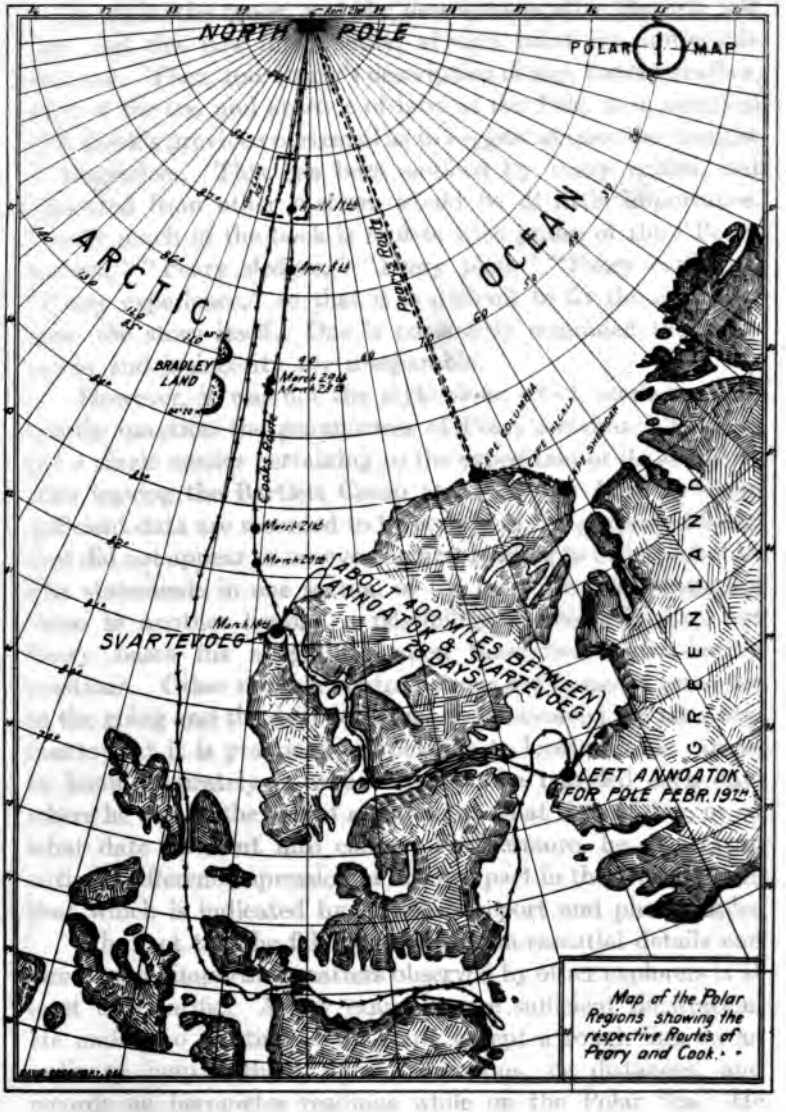
Criticisms then began to appear as to the genuineness of Peary's claims. His friends hurriedly appealed to Congress for medals and honors, asking that he be appointed a Rear-Admiral,

pensioned, and retired. Congress, however, was disinclined at that time* to grant him honors, until his actual proofs were exhibited to justify such action. Peary persisted and thereby endangered the security of his fame. It was thought significant that he should ask honors for his achievements and yet refuse to supply any proofs. Nevertheless, in January 1911, further pressure was brought to bear, and Congress on little more than the original evidence, finally granted the honors which had been asked for by Peary and his friends. Peary has since been exceedingly quiet. Cook returned from his self-imposed exile and has in lectures been trying to establish his claims.

Peary's narrative was published in three forms. The first, an abridged account of his trip, appeared in a New York paper immediately on his arrival in civilization. This article was subsequently printed in many periodicals, notably *The Outlook.*† (This magazine espoused Peary's cause and therefore frequent quotations from it are used in this analysis). Peary's second narrative was a full story of the expedition, which appeared in installments in *Hampton's Magazine.*‡ The third was his book *The North Pole.*** If one expects to obtain accurate information from Peary's accounts, he is doomed to disappointment. There are alterations and discrepancies in the various publications which often necessitate quoting from them separately for complete statements. Before proceeding with the analysis and argument, I shall enumerate the various characteristics of Peary's story (indicative of his mind) which attracted my attention, and which occurring so conspicuously with the same apparent design, tended to arouse my suspicions as to the veracity of his claims.

First as regards style: Peary's superficial manner; his apparent haste and haziness in relating his experiences on the trip from the Bartlett Camp to the Pole; the immediate change

*March 1910.
†Sept. 18, 1909.
‡Aug. and Sept. 1910.
**Published late in 1910.


NORTH POLE
POLAR MAP
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
BRADLEY LAND
Cooks Route
Peary Route
April 21st
April 11th
March 22nd
March 29th
March 1st
SVARTEVOEG
ANNOATOK
ABOUT 400 MILES BETWEEN ANNOATOK & SVARTEVOEG 28 DAYS
LEFT ANNOATOK FOR POLE FEBR. 19TH
Map of the Polar Regions showing the respective Routes of Peary and Cook.



in the style, the tenor, and the descriptions after Bartlett left him; and the new introduction at this point are noticeable features. Then, too, Peary's description of sky, water, weather, color of the ice, and absence of land at the Pole, is so identical with Cook's previous portrayal as to suggest at once the thought of plagiarism. This has been noticed by many critics, but separated from other matters would be of little importance. Finally much of the book is replete with praise of the "Peary system," "Peary sledges," "Peary plan," "Peary caribou," "Peary experience," so that it is difficult to fix the attention upon the story itself. One is constantly reminded that egomania and insincerity are inseparable.

However, it was not the style alone which made me constantly question the genuineness of Peary's claims. There is not a single matter pertaining to the expedition or its activities after leaving the Bartlett Camp at 87° 47′ on April 2, where sufficient data are recorded to be certain of the purported facts, that did not appear to me even on first reading to be improbable. The statements in one section of the book seem to contradict those in another beyond a possibility of reconciliation, but Peary bases his allegations upon these two contradictory positions. Other notable contradictions are found in reference to the going and the drift of the ice. So involved are his statements that it is practically impossible to locate all his camps, to know accurately in what direction he traveled each day; where he was at the end of a march; at what time of day, or on what date he went into camp. Furthermore, he creates an entirely different impression of his own part in the journey than that which is indicated by Henson's report and photographs.

The fact that he fills pages with non-essential details and omits many important matters observed by other explorers is at least unscientific. A few examples are sufficient illustration. He makes no plotting of his route except a rough line on an ordinary map without dates, directions, or distances, and records no barometer readings while on the Polar Sea. He gives no inventory of the cargoes on his sledges nor their weight,

nor the weight of the sledges or individual dogs. He took no boat for crossing open leads; provided no nautical instruments to guide the supporting parties on their return to land, although Peary claims that some of them traveled on the ice floes farther north on the Polar Sea, than the foot of man had ever trod; they had no cooking apparatus; no report was made of their activities; the location of the expedition was never known on any day during the journey, because no longitude was taken; even the compass variations were not known; the drift of the ice floes is overlooked in the calculations, and contradicted in the descriptions; although the drift is known to be easterly. Peary claims the impossible feat of having traveled over this drifting ice a distance of nearly 1000 miles of latitude, returning to the starting point on land in the drifting tracks of the outward march, without a serious fault or displacement in the trail; not one complete bottom sounding is furnished as evidence. Obviously false is Peary's location of the sun in the observations which he alleges to have made at the Pole. His photographs at the Pole show shadows on the wrong side. He claims a rate of speed which is impossible. He travels in an unprecedented manner without delay or obstruction. It is doubtful whether a book was ever published purporting to be a genuine narrative of exploration that on first reading bears so many earmarks of a suspicious nature as are found within the covers of Peary's *North Pole.*

Aside from these questionable points in Peary's book, his choice of companions for the alleged final dash to the Pole is noticeable. At 87° 47′ he sent Bartlett back to land. Bartlett is an intelligent man whose testimony, if corroborative, would have fixed Peary's place in history. However, Peary preferred Henson a body servant of over 20 years' servitude. Although he is an intelligent negro, Peary writes of him: "He is as subject to my will as the fingers of my right hand."* Under these circumstances, Henson cannot be considered an entirely satisfactory witness, as he would in a contest naturally be prejudiced

**North Pole,* Page 271.

in Peary's favor. Peary must have understood this. However, it is interesting to note that Henson's diary of the trip north of the Bartlett Camp, upon which he based his lectures and publications during Peary's absence in Europe, contradicts Peary's diary in every important allegation.

As if Peary's own statements relating to matters in the far North were insufficient to stimulate curiosity and skepticism, there followed in an attempt to corroborate Peary, the farcical proceedings of the committee of the National Geographic Society at Washington in a pretended investigation of Peary's claims; their partisan exhibition later at the Congressional hearing; their map and plotting which bears in every line the easily discernible evidence of its spuriousness.

These and many indications not mentioned, present such convincing evidence of a hidden mystery in the narrative, that the writer thinks the libraries of the world may be searched in vain for another instance in exploration literature where instantly the reader is so impressed with the evident intent to conceal and mystify, or where the attempt to do so is executed so clumsily; where consequently the mysteries are so easily straightened out; and where the paradoxes, pretenses and absurdities, are by analysis so easily crumpled up. These remarkable coincidences pointing unmistakably in one direction like the finger of scorn, surely are significant of something. This analysis will attempt to bring to light the hidden truth.

Perhaps a more astounding revelation even than the knowledge that these incongruities are known to exist in a narrative of exploration, is the fact, that the story itself has been almost universally accepted as true. The analysis of this feature may possibly be as interesting as the review of Peary's alleged journey itself, because it unfolds a combination and a conspiracy and brings to light a condition of affairs, undreamed of in ordinary philosophy. But even this revelation does not solve all of the questions. It becomes necessary to expose to some extent the part taken by millionaires with plethoric purses and philanthropic minds, but with an itching for distinction

who are willing to support an unproved cause, and by indirection to purchase the doubtful honor, of having their names attached to fictitious capes and camps in the distant Polar Sea. This exposure coincidentally furnishes valuable information as to the wonderful power of the press under modern organization, and of the far-reaching evil consequences that follow the pollution of the fountain of public news.

The first thing that challenged my credulity in the published statements of the two explorers on their emergence from the north was the parallel tables of marches and distances in the *New York Herald*, illustrating the journeys of Peary and Cook from land to the Pole and back. When I saw the sudden increase of speed in Peary's column on the first march after Bartlett left him, and the accelerating speed daily made thereafter, one day equalling, and all but one day *exceeding* the best day that had been accomplished by Bartlett; and when I noted how much the expedition was detained by weather, leads, obstructions, etc., during the 30 days that Bartlett was with it, and noted that, thereafter, it was not delayed a single day or even a half day, but continued making phenomenal speed, my curiosity prompted me to make a research from such data as were available, to ascertain if these alleged facts could be true. This was my first critical thought on the subject of polar claims, but my curiosity, instead of being satisfied was only further aroused, and I could not rest, until this analysis was written.

Inasmuch as Peary's claim for speed is indicative of the character of his entire story, I shall analyze that feature first. Before doing so, it is well to explain the terms that are used in the diagrams and tables in order to make the analysis clear.

There are three designations used for the term "*miles.*" FIRST: "NAUTICAL" or "geographical miles" (6080.26 ft.) denotes actual progress over the earth's surface (or difference in latitude). This designation is used in making comparisons both in speed and in latitude. SECOND: "STATUTE MILES" (5280 ft.) means miles as landsmen understand the word. The term is used in order to make the actual distance

clear to the general reader. 1 nautical mile is 1.15 statute miles. THIRD: "ROUTE MILES," means the statute miles via the route traveled. Without a pedometer or its equivalent, the distance traveled over a devious drifting polar ice route, cannot be known until the extent of the DETOURS and DRIFT is known. *Detours* plus *Drift, i. e.* the *Deviation* from a straight line is the ROUTE MILES, or the actual miles traveled over the route. For example: If one takes a circuitous route 15 miles long to reach a point 10 miles distant in a straight line, the Deviation is 5 miles and 15 indicates the ROUTE MILES. It is Route Miles, not the progress made, that tests pedestrianism, leg efficiency and endurance. It is Route Miles, therefore, which are important in polar exploration. In determining route miles the arctic explorer has at least three causes of deviation to consider; viz., detours, current and leeward drift.

Detours are caused by leads, (open water spaces in the polar ice pack) ice hills, and obstructions of various kinds, which make it difficult to determine the exact per cent of deviation. Nansen and Johansen who encountered no leads going north, record deviation from a straight course by detours alone of over 10 per cent. Borup writes* that while he was with Peary, they actually traveled 13 miles to make 10 miles of northing, which is 30 per cent for detours. The descriptions and the photographs of the ice surface made by Peary and Henson, and by all other arctic explorers, indicate that 40 to 50 per cent would be a more correct allowance. I shall, however, in the following tabulation of Peary's speed use the nominal allowance of 10 per cent for detours. It is doubtful if any one could walk for 10 hours anywhere on the earth's surface without a path to guide him, and not add more than 10 per cent deviation to a level and a straight line. He certainly could not drive a caravan of harnessed dogs that straight, even over a level surface. A 10 per cent allowance for detours is obviously well within the fact, although the physical effect of detours cannot be

**A Tenderfoot with Peary.* Page 174.

adequately estimated in miles, because traveling over ice hills is excessively exhaustive as compared with traveling the same distance on level ice.

The next cause of deviation to consider in traveling over polar ice floes is current and leeward drift, *i. e.*, the *adverse drift* of the ice itself, caused by tides, currents, and winds. It is possible that the standard current of the circum-polar sea under the ice over which Peary traveled, was fairly constant in direction and velocity; but the movement of the ice was affected by winds, which vary in direction, in force and in duration. Consequently, the movements of the ice were influenced through its wetted surface by currents of the water, and through its dry surface by currents of the air. It is, therefore, impossible to plot upon a map accurately the resultant path of the ice formed by these counter-movements. At best it can only be conjectured from such data as are available. The known and conjectural currents of the Polar Sea are shown on map No. 2.* This map shows, as do all maps, that the known ocean drift on Peary's route is to the east, crossing it at right angles. This fact is confirmed by Peary in *The North Pole*, and in his plotting of his 1906 expedition. Other recorded facts illustrate quite accurately the trend of the different currents in the North Polar Ocean (the speed of this drift is estimated by all writers to be from 3 to 5 miles per day). Timbers recognized as Siberian discovered on the southwest coast of Greenland by Nansen; the positively identified wreckage of the *Jeanette* found on the southwest coast of Greenland three years after her destruction on the New Siberian Islands; the plotted drift of the *Fram;* the plotted drift of the *Jeanette*; the plotted route of Nansen and Johansen with their sledges; these facts taken into consideration with the known length of time and with the distances, establish approximately the swiftness of this current and its effect upon the floating ice.

Before this can accurately be done, however, another factor must be considered, *i. e.* the leeward drift caused by the winds. This phenomenon has been noted by all arctic explorers. Cagni

*End of Book.

writing of his farthest north, says: "After marching *nine days* to the southeast, we are nearly on the same meridian." He drifted from longitude 65° 20′ east, to 48° 40′ east, in about 17 days. The standard current drift was southwest. Therefore, the true measure of his actual drift, if known, would perhaps be more than double the indication from the difference in longitude. The route of the *Fram* (Map No. 2) shows that she was twice as long imprisoned in the ice as she would have been, had she not been detained by leeward drift, or by the tides. The drift of the *Jeanette*, indicates a greater deviation from these causes than that of the *Fram*, or over 100 per cent. The journey of Delong over the ice floes after the *Jeanette* was wrecked shows more than 100 per cent deviation from drift. The plot of Nansen and Johansen's sledge route after leaving the *Fram* shows a trifle over 40 per cent added to travel from the combined effect of leeward and current drift and tides. This is misleading in a way, because Nansen's observations were taken long intervals apart. As is customary with navigators, he draws a straight line from one known location to the next known location. If he could have taken observations and fixed his location as often as did Sverdrup on the *Fram* and drawn his lines as often, his plotting undoubtedly would have been similar to that of the *Fram*. It probably would have shown a higher per cent because the current and leeward drift as well as the tides would all have shown against his line of march. The *Fram* and the *Jeanette* had no fixed line of march. They drifted with the ice. The leeward drift and tides alone added 100 per cent deviation to the standard current drift. Consequently, for comparison with Nansen, these three drifts should be added together. It is warrantable to assume that had Nansen known his exact location daily and set his course accordingly, his plotting would have shown a deviation caused by the combined effect of current, leeward and tidal drift, of not less than 100 per cent from a straight line.

Now to check up the allowance for drift in Peary's case. He did not know his longitude at any point on his route, and

therefore, draws a straight line from Cape Columbia to the Pole. It was all he could do, with the information he possessed. But his travels could not have been in a straight line, for the standard current drift on his route north of Cape Columbia is easterly. Peary's plotting on his map of 1906 indicates imperfectly that while he was in camp at the Big Lead unable to cross, he drifted 12 degrees of longitude eastward in 15 days, or over 4 nautical miles per day directly across the trail of 1909, which we are now considering, and at right angles thereto. He wrote in his book* that on the second day out from land in 1909 when he encountered the first open water, "On the other side there was no sign of Bartlett's trail." This means that the lateral movements (that is east and west) of the ice shore of the lead had carried the trail along with it. He reports that the trail was afterwards found a mile and a half distant. This only indicates that there was a current, and shows the distance that it carried one side of the lead, farther than the other. Both sides may have drifted many miles in the same current. Again he writes:† "The morning of the 11th was clear and calm, that night the ice was rafting about our camp with the movement of the tide. The continual grinding, groaning and cracking as the pieces of ice crushed together, kept up all night long." This statement is indefinite as to distance, but the stupendous force of a current, is well indicated. This represents eastward *current* drift. In 1909 when the party reached the Bartlett Camp, Bartlett found the latitude to be 87° 47′. Peary writing of this incident says:‡ "Our latitude was the direct result of the northerly wind of the *last two days* which had crowded the ice southward as we traveled over it northward. We had traveled *fully twelve miles* more than his observations showed in the last five marches, but had lost them by the crushing up of young ice in our rear and the closing of the leads." This is southerly *leeward* drift.

**North Pole*, Page 222.
†*North Pole*, Page 232.
‡*North Pole*, Page 268.

These are instances (1906 and 1909) where Peary himself furnishes* some data by which his drift can be checked.

If Peary was driven back (southward) twelve miles in the two days preceding his arrival at the Bartlett Camp, or 6 miles a day as he says by wind alone, (but as he did not know his longitude he may have been driven by the same wind as far in other directions), he was very probably driven eastward also by the ocean current, possibly as much as he says he was in 1906 (or 4 miles per day). These combined influences would have thrown him off his course in zigzags, some 12 or 15 miles per day. His average length of marches, which were affected by wind to the Bartlett Camp, was 12 miles per day in a straight line. If this situation were left without further explanation, it would indicate a deviation of perhaps 100 per cent from a straight line. As he gives no other data whereby to pursue this method of illustration further, the subject is left almost entirely to conjecture. Possibly the ocean current between Cape Columbia and the Pole is not so swift as in other parts of the Polar Ocean where Nansen, Sverdrup on the *Fram*, DeLong, and Cagni plotted their drift. Therefore, to be safely within the truth, Peary's drift will, in these calculations, be fixed at less than one third of theirs, and 30 per cent will be added to a straight line route for deviations caused by drift.

This allowance evidently is not enough or exact, but it is sufficient for present purposes. Not all winds are adverse, but a large majority in Peary's case, must have been. If the wind blew only from the four cardinal points, only one of the four would have been altogether favorable. In fact, when traveling north, every wind except south would throw one off his course. Many winds, however, that take one off his course are still to some extent favorable, as the net result may be advantageous. In going north any southerly wind between southeast and southwest, while it would throw one off his course might nevertheless carry him nearer his goal. But to take advantage of this, the navigator must constantly know the extent of his

**North Pole*, Page 222.

drift, and know his new positions, in order to shape his new courses accordingly; otherwise he would himself create new deviations by heading in the wrong direction. It was, however, impossible for Peary to be aided in this way. *He did not know his longitude or his location on a single day enroute,** hence a large majority of winds must have been adverse, and a drift off his course in any direction was a disadvantage. The water currents on Peary's route were easterly, and every day that he was moved eastward, was inimical to his progress.

The most serious effect of adverse drift in high latitudes is yet to be mentioned; and it is especially fatal to accurate navigation when not known in the extreme high latitude we are now considering. At 82° north, a lateral displacement in location of one nautical mile, east or west, means an error in longitude of over 7 minutes. At 85° north, it means an error of over 11 minutes in longitude. At 88° north, it means 28 minutes in longitude, and at 89° an error of one nautical mile east or west would show the enormous error of over 57 minutes in longitude, practically ONE DEGREE. It will be seen, therefore, that in such high latitudes, a lateral drift is a most serious deviation from a straight line multiplying into stupendous percentages as one approaches the Pole. Therefore, considering the known and conjectural ocean currents, the plotted routes of previous explorers, Peary's own related experiences, and his acknowledged ignorance of his longitude; and bearing in mind that the discussion concerns travel in very high latitudes; it is almost absurd to place the loss by drift as low as 30 per cent. It is at least a conservative, and sufficient estimate.†

It would be unnecessary to include, or to consider deviations to arrive at the credibility of Peary's claims for speed. His alleged straight line distances are impossible. The truth, however, demands that deviations be considered for an intelligent analysis, and a correct portrayal of the facts. We shall, therefore, allow 10 per cent for detours, and 30 per cent

*Pages 99-101, Test at Washington D. C.
†For further data on drift, percent, etc. see Appendix 2.

for combined current and leeward drift, which estimates have been shown to be indubitably within the facts of the case.

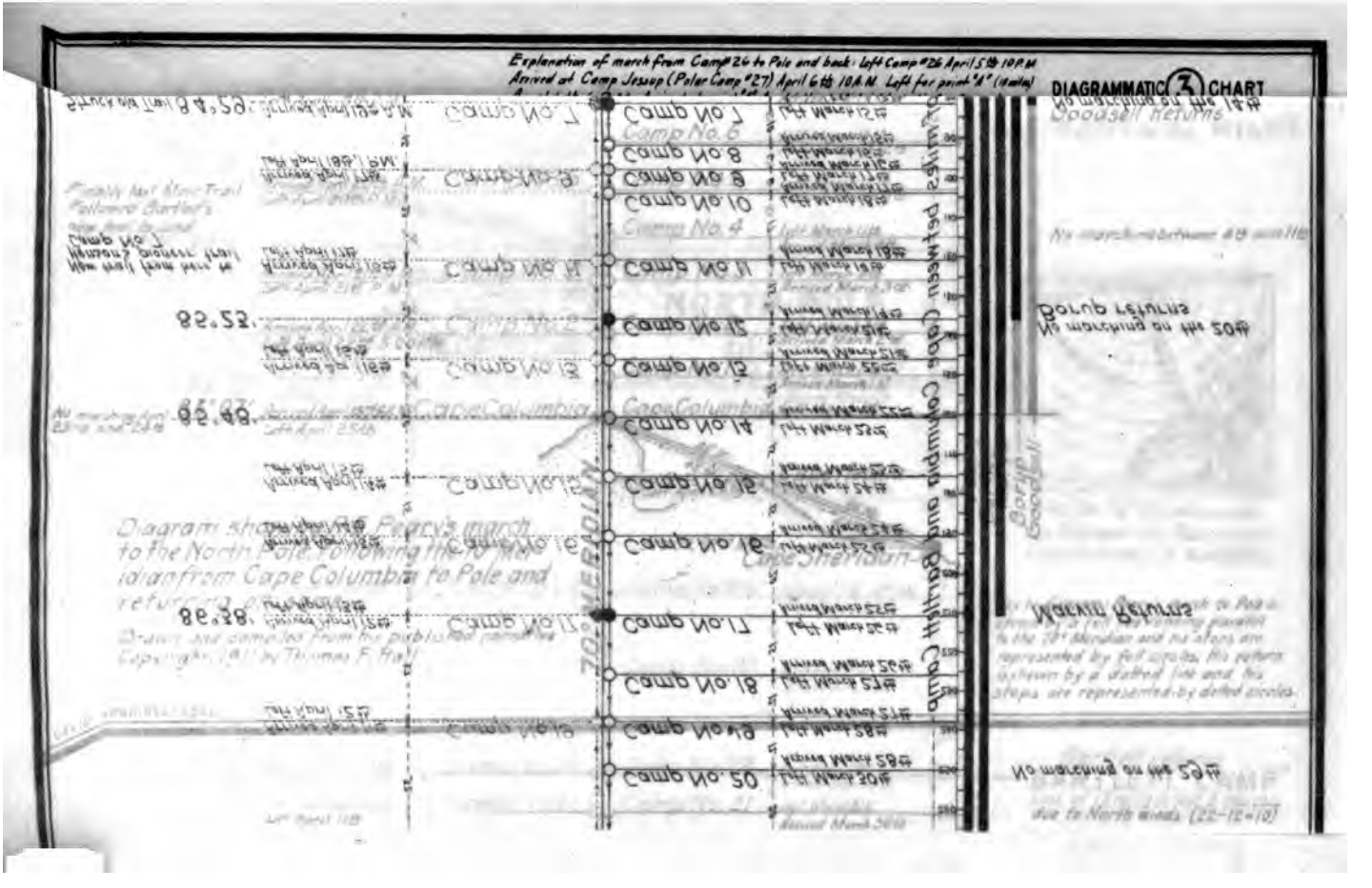
The diagrams which will be used freely in the analysis of speed, are explained as follows: Diagram No. 3* is an exact portrayal, as Peary records it of his alleged journey from land to the Pole, back to land, and thence on to the steamer *Roosevelt* at his winter quarters at Cape Sheridan. It is Peary's diagram, and should have been made by him. It gives the distances in nautical (or geographical miles) as Peary gives them in his narrative, (the actual distances of latitude claimed to have been made over the earth's surface). This diagram is used in all references to and comparisons of speed. It is complete with dates, camps, marches, non-marches and the dates and points of the return of the supporting parties, all of which is explained in the chart. Diagram No. 9† is drawn from Diagram No. 3 on a larger scale and represents the district in Diagram No. 3 north from Camp No. 26. It is provided with compass directions, sun's direction, time, etc.

It is now necessary to know exactly what Peary's story is. He claims that his dash to the Pole took place as follows. Early in the spring of 1909 after wintering at Cape Sheridan, he assembled his expedition at Cape Columbia 90 miles further west. He left this point Lat. 83° 07′ on March 1, 1909, and reached the Bartlett Camp 87° 47′ on March 31, 30 days and 18 hours enroute. The distance is 280 miles.† Four supporting parties accompanied him at the start, commanded by Goodsell, Borup, Marvin and Bartlett. These men, each with his special equipment, returned to Cape Columbia in the order named. Goodsell traveled with the expedition 14 days; Borup 21 days; Marvin 26 days; and Bartlett 31 days.† On April 2, 1909, the day after Bartlett turned back, Peary with the negro Henson and four Eskimos, started north, with no support except the supplies they took with them on the sledges. Peary claims

*Opposite Page 38.

†Diagram 3, opposite Page 38.

that with this equipment he went to a point seven miles beyond the Pole, traveled 16 miles in cross directions near the Pole, and returned to land, 584 miles altogether, in 21 days arriving April 23, at 6 a. m. In Peary's narrative it was this claim for phenomenal speed over long stretches of polar ice, always when he was alone *i. e.*, without supporting parties, that attracted special attention. We are now in a position to review this feature of his story, following Peary's method and dividing his alleged travels into two distinct parts, viz.: (1) Between land and Bartlett Camp *with supporting parties.* (2) North of Bartlett Camp and back to land *without supporting parties.*


Explanation of march from Camp 26 to Pole and back: Left Camp #26 April 5th 10 P.M.
Arrived at Camp Jessup (Polar Camp #27) April 6th 10 A.M. Left for point "A" (illegible)
DIAGRAMMATIC CHART
Camp No. 1
Camp No. 6
Camp No. 8
Camp No. 9
Camp No. 10
Camp No. 4
Camp No. 11
Camp No. 12
Camp No. 13
Camp No. 14
Cape Columbia
Camp No. 15
Camp No. 16
Camp No. 17
Camp No. 18
Camp No. 19
Camp No. 20
Camp No. 21
Cape Sherman
Polar Returns
No observation on the 85th
No observation on the 86th
Diagram showing Peary's march to the North Pole, showing the 0 Meridian from Cape Columbia to Pole and return
Copyright 1911 by Thomas F. Hall
due to North winds (22-12-10)

NAUTICAL MILES
CHART
170° MERIDIAN Bearing Short
"NORTH POLE"
Camp No. 25
Camp No. 24
Camp No. 23
Camp No. 22
Camp No. 21
"BARTLETT CAMP"

CHAPTER II

DETAIL ANALYSIS OF SPEED

For convenience I have tabulated Peary's alleged marches shown on Diagram No. 3 into numbered groups in *Table* 1.* Group 1 shows that in his journey north from Cape Columbia to the point where Captain Bartlett with the last supporting party turned back, that Peary consumed 30 days and 18 hours and made 280 miles, an average of 9. 1 miles per day of latitude (or 9. 1 nautical miles directly north). The speed in this group will be used as the *standard* by which all other claims for speed will be measured or compared. This is the only group that shows Peary's record accompanied by supporting parties. Group 2 indicates that during Peary's alleged absence of 7 days and 13 hours north of the Bartlett Camp, (going and returning to that camp) he traveled 304 nautical miles, averaging 40. 3 miles for every day after Bartlett turned back, as against 9. 1 (Group 1) miles with the help of Bartlett and his other supporting parties. To realize what this claim covers as a matter of physical effort, the average in ROUTE MILES in the table is 66. 3 miles of actual marching daily over polar ice floes. Group 3 indicates that Peary traveled south from the Bartlett Camp to land 280 nautical miles, in 13 days and 12 hours as against 30 days and 18 hours going north with his supporting parties, an average of 20.7 miles as against 9.1 miles. Group 5 shows still more remarkable achievements concerning the alleged movements north of Camp No. 26. The allegation is that Peary left Camp No. 26 (89° 25′) on the 5th of April at 10 p. m. and returned to the same camp April 7, at midnight, having been absent 2 days and 2 hours. The group indicates that he traveled in that time 108 nautical miles (124.2 statute

*Page 40.

TABLE IN GROUPS OF

TABLE I

No. of Group	FROM		TO		
	Date	Camp	Date	Camp	Names of Camps
1	Mar. 1, 6 a. m.	Cape Columbia	Mar. 31, 12 p. m.	22	Cape Columbia to Camp Bartlett No. 22—280 mi.
2	Apr. 2, 5 a. m.	22	Apr. 9, 6 p. m.*	22	Camp Bartlett No. 22 North via Pole and back again to Camp Bartlett No. 22, 134+36+134=304
3	Apr. 9, 6 p. m.	* 22	Apr. 23, 6 a. m.	Cape Columbia	Camp Bartlett to Cape Columbia returning South
			The above groups constitute the full round		
4	Apr. 6, 10 a. m.	27	Apr. 6, 6 p. m.	27	In Camp Jessup No. 27. No marching.
5	Apr. 5, 10 p. m.	26	Apr. 7, 12 p. m.		Camp No. 26 and back again to Camp No. 26 via North Pole 36+36+36=108
6	Apr. 2, 5 a. m.	22	Apr. 23, 6 a. m.	Cape Columbia	Camp Bartlett No. 22 to Cape Columbia via North Pole 134+36+134+280=584
7	Apr. 6-7, 12 p. m.	Point A	Apr. 9, 6 p. m.*	22	Farthest point "A" south to Camp Bartlett No. 22. 26+36+53+45=160
8	Apr. 6-7, 12 p. m.	A	Apr. 7, 12 p. m.	26	Farthest point "A" south to Camp No. 26, 26+36=62

DIAGRAMMATIC (9) CHART

DIAGRAMMATIC CHART 9
NORTH POLE
CAMP LESSUP
Point D
South
170° Meridian (Bearing South)
A
B
C
K
E
N
W
S

Alleged Marches Taken From Diagram No. 1.

Table I

							ROUTE MILES
Days	Hrs.	Total Nautical Miles	Average Nautical Miles	Total Statute Miles	Average Statute Miles	Ave. Sta. Mi. Plus 10 per Cent Detours.	Ave. Sta. Mi. Plus 30% Drift and detours
30	18	280	9 1	322	10.5	11.5	14.95
7	13	304	40.3	349.6	46.4	51.0	66.3
13	12	280	20.7	322	23.8	26.18	33.32
trip 864 Nautical miles.							
0	8						
2	2	108	51.9	124.2	59.7	65.7 2 days 2 hrs.	85.41 (177.58)
21	1	584	27.7	671.6	31.9	35	45.5
2	18	160	58.0	184	66.9	73.6	95.68
1	0	62	62	71.3	71.3	78.4	101.92

TABLE I—*Continued*

FROM			TO		
No. of Group	Date	Camp	Date	Camp	Names of Camps
9	Apr. 6, 6 p. m.	27	Apr. 7, 12 p. m.	26	Camp Jessup No. 27 (between sleeps sounding, 13 obs., photos, etc.) to Camp No. 26 via Point "A" 36+36 =72
10	Apr. 2, 5 a. m.	22	Apr. 6, 12 p. m.	A	Camp Bartlett No. 22 to Farthest Point A, 134+10 =144
11	Apr. 6-7, 12 p. m.	A	Apr. 23, 6 a. m.	Cape Columbia	Farthest Point "A" to Cape Columbia 26+36+53+45+ 280=440
12	Apr. 5, 10 p. m.	26	Apr. 6, 12 p. m.	A	Camp No. 26 Farthest Point "A" 36+10=46
13	Apr. 6, 6 p. m.	27	Apr. 9, 6 p. m.*	22	Camp Jessup No. 27 to Camp Bartlett via Pole 36+ 36+53+45=170
14	Apr. 2, 5 a. m.	22	Apr. 6, 10 a. m.	27	Camp Bartlett No. 22 to Camp Jessup No. 27 (Polar Camp) 25+20+25 +28+36=134

*Exact time not reported.

TABLE I—*Continued*

							ROUTE MILES
Days	Hrs.	Total Nautical Miles	Average Nautical Miles	Total Statute Miles	Average Statute Miles.	Ave. Sta. Mi. Plus 10 Per Cent Detours	Ave. Sta. Mi. Plus 30% Drift and Detours
1	6	72	57.6	82.8	66.2	72.9	94.77
4	19	144	30.1	165.6	34.6	38	49.40
16	6	440	27.1	506	31.1	34.2	44.46
1	2	46	42.6	52.9	49	53.9	70.07
3	0	170	56.6	195.5	65.2	71.7	93.21
4	5	134	31.8	154.1	36.6	40.3	52.39

TABLE II

SHOWING WHAT WAS DONE AFTER BARTLETT TURNED BACK. ALSO SHOWING A COMPARISON OF SPEED BEFORE AND AFTER HE TURNED BACK.

TAKEN FROM TABLE I

		AFTER		BEFORE	
		Speed	Group	Speed	Group
A	Made 3 times as great an average	27.7	6	9.1	1
B	Made a greater average, including all the days on the whole alleged trip north to the pole and beyond, thence back to land (21 days and 1 hour) than the best single day's work before that time (See Diagram No. 3 20 miles.)	27.7	6	20	
C	Made 3 times as great speed in any one day comparing the best single day's work in each district. (See Diagram No. 3, 20 miles.)	62	8	20	
D	Made 4.5 times as great average while north of Bartlett Camp, as was made reaching it from the South.	40.3	2	9.1	1
E	Made in one disconnected march *without sleep* April 6th, 6 p. m. to April 7th, at midnight.	62.0	8		
F	Made in 2 calendar days and 18 hours from April 6th-7th, midnight, to April 9th, 6 p. m., 58 nautical miles a day, which in statute miles, (adding 10 per cent for detours) would make 73.6 miles each day in a straight line measurement.	160	7		
G	Made in one disconnected march, practically without sleep, from April 5th, 10 p. m. to April 7th, midnight (Camp No. 26 to Camp No. 26.)	108	5		
	—which in statute miles plus deviations would make	177.58	5		

miles) in a straight line measurement, or (177.58 ROUTE MILES) took 13 observations, many photos, attempted a sounding of 1500 fathoms and yet during 12 hours of this time he did not march. He, therefore, must have traveled, as will be seen, a distance of 124.2 statute miles in a straight line measurement, or 177.58 ROUTE MILES. Group 8 indicates that he traveled the calendar day of April 7, from midnight to midnight 101.92 ROUTE MILES.

Peary's story of the first section of his trip *i. e.*, from Cape Columbia to Bartlett Camp, is briefly that he was 30 days and 18 hours enroute, and that he made 22 marches. In other words there were only 22 days, about three fourths of the time enroute, when he could march. 9 days for various reasons, he did not march at all. On some of the days that he did march, he could only advance 6 miles, and only on 2 days did he advance 20 miles. His average advance per *march* was 12.7 miles. With the assistance of his ideal equipment, with supporting parties to break the road and build camps ahead so that his main party could conserve their energy, Peary's record shows that the average *daily* progress north for the 30 days and 18 hours was 9.1 miles of latitude. That he struggled hard to make this average may be inferred from his remark* "The next morning I put Marvin in the lead to pioneer the trail, with instructions to make two forced marches to bring up the average which had been cut down by the last two short ones." The narrative shows that on the days when he was able to make 20 miles, the traveling conditions were excellent. The various reasons why he could not every day equal his best days of 20 miles, are explained; open water leads, high pressure ridges, blinding storms, intense cold, broken sledges, and other unavoidable delays prevented better progress.

It is quite probable that if the traveling conditions on the two days when he made 20 miles had been more favorable, or if they had been ideal, and his equipment had been in perfect order, he might have made a little more than 20 miles on each

**Outlook* Sept. 18, 1909, Page 96.

of those two days, but probably not more in one day than 25 or 26 nautical miles, because more than that has never yet been made, with a similar equipment, in one day of consecutive marching over the polar pack, even under desperate circumstances. Peary's story as far as the Bartlett Camp is entirely convincing as to progress, and tallies with the narratives of all polar explorers. To be fair, the going, the length of marches, and the rates of speed claimed *from land to the Bartlett Camp* will be adopted as standards by which like factors in other parts of the journey will be measured and compared.

The second section of Peary's trip* *i.e.*, from Bartlett Camp north to the Pole and back to Cape Columbia, all without supporting parties took place between April 2 at 5 a. m., and April 23 at 6 a. m., a total of 21 days 1 hour. During that time he claims to have traveled to a point seven miles beyond the Pole with 16 miles cross-marching, and to have returned to land a total distance of 584 miles. This trip may for convenience, be subdivided into two parts. (1) The travels *north* of the Bartlett Camp and return.† (2) The trip *south* from Bartlett Camp or the return to land.‡ The rates of speed claimed by Peary for these two parts of his trip without supporting parties, are shown by the record as follows: (geographical or nautical miles with no addition for deviations) an average of 30.1 miles per day for the 4 days 19 hours going north from Bartlett Camp to Camp Jessup (Polar Camp) and ten miles beyond;** an average of 58 miles per day for 2 days 18 hours returning from the farthest point to Bartlett Camp, 160 miles;*** an average of 20.7 miles per day for 13 days 12 hours from the Bartlett Camp to Cape Columbia 280 miles south.**** Summed up as shown in Group 6, his record makes it appear that he traveled after leaving Bartlett until he returned to land, 584

*Table 1, Group 6.
†Table 1, Group 2.
‡Table 1, Group 3.
**Table 1, Group 10.
***Table 1, Group 7.
****Group 3 Table 1.

miles in 21 days 1 hour, an average of 27.7 miles per day for every day he was absent, which is a greater average than Bartlett's best two days of 20 miles going north. There can be no dispute as to whether these figures correspond to Peary's narrative. The only question that can possibly arise regarding them is whether or not the speed and the distances claimed to have been made after leaving the Bartlett Camp are possible under such conditions as are known to exist on the moving ice pack of the Polar Sea, or whether they are in fact even possible under any conditions that could possibly have existed on that sea. Before we answer these questions, however, we shall make a close scrutiny of Peary's story.

Peary's account of this first sub-division of his journey without supporting parties is that between the days of April 2 and 9, he journeyed north of 87° 47′ to the polar camp, went 36 miles in reconnoitering and returned to Bartlett Camp a distance of 304 nautical miles.* His description of his preparation for this dash will be remembered. He said he had reserved all his strength for it and was physically in prime condition, that his party, consisting of six men, five sledges including one fur-lined riding sledge for Peary's personal use, and sixty days supplies, undertook the pacemaking themselves, broke their own roads, built their own igloos, did their own scouting, and attended to the routine camp work morning and evening. They had no one upon whom they could call when fatigued to relieve them, as Bartlett had. Besides this, Bartlett was young and vigorous —Peary was the oldest man in the expedition, and to some extent a cripple. Under these circumstances, if Peary could have made an average of *four miles per day* after Bartlett left him, it would have been considered very creditable in comparison with Bartlett's 9.1 miles. His alleged achievement, however, being different deserves close scrutiny.

About ten o'clock in the morning, on April 2, he started out. The going "*was the best since leaving land.*" He claims to have made 25 miles. This distance, if it were made, was

*Group 2—Table I.

25 per cent greater than the best previous day's march. On the 3rd, the going was the same as the day before, that is to say "*best since leaving land,*" except at the beginning. He made 20 miles, equalling Bartlett's best day. From this on, every day he claims to have made longer and longer marches, until he reached the Pole. On the 4th, the *going was much better than the 3rd;* on the 5th *still better than on the 4th.* Adjectives were now becoming too common to make comparisons, but to illustrate the increasing perfection of the going as he proceeded north he says, April 5, that he came across a newly frozen over water lead running north and south, that is to say, straight toward the North Pole. Over this perfectly smooth surface he claims that his dogs galloped two hours at a stretch "reeling off the miles" in a manner that "delighted " his "heart." On the 6th, although adjectives were exhausted, Peary still desired to show that the going was improving. He writes, "It was warmer and the sleds hauled easier," and again "There was hardly any snow on the granular surfaces of the old floes, and the sapphire blue lakes were larger than ever." These descriptions cover the conditions as Peary said he found them as far as the Pole.

Let us assume that Peary reached Camp No. 26* on April 5, after making four marches north of Bartlett Camp, and on that basis investigate what he alleges to have done after he left Camp No. 26 until he returned to it again. The four marches by which he reached Camp No. 26 were the longest and hardest, all things considered, ever made by man. He says on arriving at that camp, "we were all pretty well played out and much in need of rest." He had one more march before him in order to reach the Pole (a longer march than he had made yet) a distance of 36 nautical miles in a straight line. He wisely went into the igloo to rest; but a little before midnight (10 p. m.) on April 5, he started out on his last march which was to end at the Pole. Fifty hours from that time (10 p. m.), he was to be back again at Camp No. 26. In the meantime he was destined to have but

*Diagrams 3 and 9.

a short unsatisfactory sleep and to march 177.58 route miles* an accomplishment only paralleled in the annals of mythology.

After marching twelve hours, or until 10 a. m. on the 6th, covering thirty-six miles† he presumed he was in the vicinity of the Pole. Anyway, he could go no further. He had completely spent himself, in this supreme effort to accomplish the ambition of his life. He, therefore called a halt, and established on that spot, his famous polar camp, which he named Morris K. Jessup. He writes:‡

"Yet with the pole actually in sight I was too weary to take the last few steps. The accumulated weariness of all those days and nights of forced marches and *insufficient* sleep, constant peril and anxiety, seemed to roll across me all at once. I was actually too exhausted to realize at the moment that my life's purpose had been achieved. As soon as our igloos had been completed and we had eaten our dinner and double rationed the dogs, I turned in for a few hours of absolutely necessary sleep, Henson and the Eskimos having unloaded the sledges and got them in readiness for such repairs as were necessary. But, weary though I was *I could not sleep long.* It was, therefore, only a few hours later when I woke."

He says he then made up his memorandums, and before 6 p. m. was pushing on again. This short sleep of perhaps three or four hours**(in the interval from sometime after noon, after building the igloos, eating dinner and feeding dogs, but before 6 p. m., taking observations and writing diary etc., meanwhile), was all the sleep that he was able to get for 50 hours, or from the time he left Camp No. 26 in latitude 89° 25′ on April 5, before midnight (10 p. m.) until he returned to that camp again, at

*Table 1, Group 5.

†In his first published report he said he made 40 miles on this day; in his last he has changed it to 30; but 36 is what it must be to check up correctly with his alleged observations, as will be evident later when discussing that subject.

‡*North Pole*, Page 287.

**Henson, Page 135 in his book says: He gave orders not to let him sleep for more than four hours.

midnight April 7, or as he designates it (in good time)* traveling meanwhile 177.58 route† miles.

Nothing in record history equals this alleged march of April 5, 6, and 7 of fifty hours. Yet Peary's story indicates that his dogs did it; that he, Peary crippled with a fractured leg which he writes‡ had given him much trouble on the first part of the journey, and with feet from which all toes but one were gone, did it; notwithstanding the fact that after he had traveled (April 5) the first 36 nautical miles of this journey, he completely collapsed. His representation of fatigue on reaching Camp Jessup is clearly intended to indicate that he practically dropped in his tracks, and that although the location of the Pole was actually in sight, he could not take the last few steps. He did, however, by vigorously lashing his exhausted muscles manage to multiply those few steps into a total of 117.06 additional miles, trudging over snow and ice, before he stopped to camp. The record shows that he covered this first 36 nautical miles of northing from Camp No. 26 in 12 hours. If true, this would be the greatest achievement, and the most phenomenal speed ever recorded in polar work. Such a statement of speed could hardly be read without incredulity. However, Peary claims to have performed it on April 5th, 6th, going north from Camp No. 26, and it is on record for review.

Here is what he claims that he did during the next 30 hours when he alleges to have been in the vicinity of the Pole.** After the vain attempt to sleep at Camp Jessup, and before 6 p. m., April 6, Peary says that he started off to reconnoiter.

*"Good time" is rather indefinite as to the hour of his arrival at Camp 26. Mr. Roberts tried at hearing in Washington to get him to say the hour that he reached that camp. But Peary could not remember whether it was before or after midnight. If I should call "good time" to be *before* midnight, it would double the speed per hour that he traveled on the upward journey, which is fast enough as it is. If I should call it *after* midnight, it would increase the hours he went without sleep which is already too long. So to be fair, I call it midnight. It is as near correct as it can be made from the record. It does not matter much as he claims to have made 53 miles the next day.

†Table 1, Group 5.

‡*North Pole*, Page 237.

**Table 1, Group 9.

In six hours thereafter, or just before midnight, he alleges that he reached his farthest point in the eastern hemisphere, or at the end of the 10 mile march (at D, Diagram 9.) After taking some observations he started on the return to Camp Jessup over the tracks of the forward march. It was just past midnight April 6th, 7th when he started back. He now commenced the second leg of the 30 hour's march which was to continue uninterrupted for 24 hours longer,* or until the next midnight (April 7-8) except for 4 hours between noon and 4 p. m. doing other work, making one continuous march of 30 hours. All of this took place without sleep, after he had collapsed and could not take another step. In six hours after starting back from the farthest point (D), he arrived at Camp Jessup (6 a. m., 7th). Then, after taking a series of observations he made another excursion of 8 miles out and back, and at noon again arrived at Camp Jessup. He stopped 4 hours and describes how he used this interval.† "In the afternoon of the 7th, after flying our flags and *taking our photographs*, we went into our igloos and tried to sleep a little, before starting south again. *I could not sleep*, and my two Eskimos, Seeglo and Eginwah, who occupied the igloo with me, seemed *equally restless*. They turned from side to side, and when they were quiet, I could tell from their uneven breathing that they were not asleep. Though they had not been specially excited the day before when I told them that we had reached the goal, yet they also seemed to be under the same exhilarating influence which made *sleep impossible for me*. Finally I rose, and telling my men, and the three men in the other igloos, who were *equally wakeful*, that we would try to make our last camp, some thirty miles to the south, before we slept, I gave orders to hitch up the dogs and be off. It seemed unwise to waste such perfect traveling weather in tossing about on the sleeping platforms in our igloos." At 4 p. m. he started for Camp No. 26, 36 miles south, stopping long enough on the way to make a sounding. He reached Camp No. 26 in "good

*Table 1, Group 8.
†Peary's *North Pole*, Page 300.

time" April 7. This makes a total distance traveled between sleeps of 117.06 route miles.

If there are degrees of excellence in accomplishing miracles, then Peary's performances in making rapid speed and long marches are completely eclipsed by this marvelous exhibit of recuperation from excessive fatigue. When speaking of Peary in this instance, we include Henson and the Eskimos, who collectively formed the expedition. What one endured all endured in approximately equal degree. Physicians tell u that rest is the only antidote for the poison of fatigue. In this case, on the contrary, the fact seems to be that this added trip of 117.06 miles was rather soothing, for Peary writes describing his safe arrival at Camp No. 26. "The first camp at 89° 25′ was reached in good time, and the march would have been a *pleasant one for me* but for my eyes burning from the strain of the continued observations of the previous hours. After a few hours sleep we hurried on again, Eskimos and dogs on the *qui vive.*" As is characteristic of miracles, the laws of nature appear in this instance to have been temporarily suspended in order to work out a desired result. From midnight of the 6th to midnight of the 7th is 24 hours. If we deduct from this time the 4 hours which Peary says he consumed at Camp Jessup between noon and 4 p. m., and assume also that he did not lose another second of time in the remaining 20 hours (in eating, drinking, in making the alleged sounding with 1¾ miles of wire, or in any other activity) but that he actually did travel every second for the full 20 hours, the result would seem to be as follows: There are 72,000 seconds in 20 hours. If each man in the expedition had spanned 3 feet at each step and had taken one step every second, they would have traveled 68 miles. Could every man have spanned 3 full feet at every step, and have utilized every second? If they could, they would have traveled only 68 miles, but to have traveled 100 miles they would have to span 5½ feet at every tick of the clock.

For purposes of comparison we may accept as true Peary's representation of his condition when he left the Bartlett Camp,

and his description of the traveling conditions enroute north. We shall suppose that in consequence of his superb condition and the nearly perfect going he was able by a supreme effort to travel on the average over three times faster than he had traveled between Cape Columbia and the Bartlett Camp, and that he made 25 miles of latitude the first day and 20 miles the second, increasing his rate every day until he attained 36 miles the last day, and reached the Pole. Nevertheless a rule does not always work both ways. If the going grew better and better from the Bartlett Camp north to the Pole, obviously it grew worse and worse on the return, over that identical space.

Peary is now supposed to retrace his steps from his farthest point over the tracks of the outward marches. It is over this identical ice he is traveling on his return. Probably he would not, with such favorable conditions, with so little snow, step into the footprints made rough by the outward march, but would prefer the smooth, clear, hard, surfaces by the side of the discernible tracks, thereby having equal, but no better advantages, than on the outward march. The conditions of traveling on the return did not change. They remained the same, the tracks remained. But his physical condition had changed and for the worse. How could he when returning in this handicapped condition over the same ice of the second day's outward march, when in superb condition he had made only 20 miles going north, make 45 miles traveling south? It seems as if this alleged fact is impossible of explanation. And what comment is to be made on the journey of April 7, when he says he made 62 nautical miles in the last three fourths of one march, nearly double his speed when traveling north over this same space, a distance of 36 nautical miles which had so exhausted him? What comment can we make when he adds to this achievement that he stopped on the way to make an alleged sounding of 1500 fathoms of wire—(1¾ miles deep) to take many observations, and photographs? If allowances be made to cover drift and the ordinary deviations from a straight line, the actual distance alleged to have been traveled on April 7, would be

greater than any ever known to have been attained in one day on any road, on any part of the earth's surface in the history of pedestrianism.

Peary left no superlatives with which to improve the traveling conditions (these were exhausted in narrating the progress going north). No explanation is given to the public to account for this performance, unequalled in the annals of mankind. Here is a claim that dogs in a presumably fatigued condition, from continued forced marches, harnessed to heavily loaded sledges; presumably tired Eskimos wrapped in arctic furs; Peary, himself comparatively a cripple, marched over a footing of slippery ice and yielding snow at a speed exceeding that which the greatest trained pedestrian known in history could make in one day's march only, over carefully chosen courses, in selected weather, and when he was specially prepared for the task.

The next day, April 8, Peary takes up another march according to his story. As before stated, the going must be growing worse as he proceeds south, to be in accord with his report going north. In fact, the chart indicates that he only claims to have traveled on this day 53 nautical miles against 62 the day before—a little less; but against *28 miles going north* on the same ice, in forced marches in prime condition at top speed. At the start on April 8, he must have again come upon the alleged smooth frozen-over lead, running "north and south" where he said he made 28 miles in one day going north, at the end of which he said, "We were all pretty well played out and in need of rest." This alleged speed was the greatest ever claimed by any one up to that date, and it seemed from Peary's statement that, under the circumstances, it was the limit of physical endurance and of distance possible to be accomplished. What his dogs could have done returning over the same ice on April 8, that exceeded a gallop, and how it was possible to surpass what was done going north, he does not state, but claims* without a word of comment that they "reeled off" 53 nautical

*Diagram 3.

miles, or as great a distance in one day as they made in the two best days of the journey north. On the next march April 9, the chart shows him to have made 45 nautical miles, which brought him back to the Bartlett Camp at 87° 47'.*

We have traced Peary's rates of speed in detail north of Bartlett Camp. He had according to his story been absent from Bartlett Camp 7 days and 13 hours, and the record is that he traveled in that time 304 nautical miles, a daily average of 40.3 nautical miles or 66.3 route miles.† He writes‡ "The story of the conquest of the pole is what *it is*, not what somebody thinks it ought to be, or might have been." A tabulation of this round trip north of the Bartlett Camp made in a straight line with the marches evenly divided, puts Peary's claims in graphic form:

TABLE III

(Not to scale.)

North Pole

Marches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Date	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	5–6	6–7	8	9
Nautical Miles	25	20	25	28	36	72	53	45
Statute Miles	28.75	23	28.75	32.20	41.40	82	60.95	51.75
Route Miles	37.37	29.9	37.37	41.86	53.80	107.64	79.23	67.21

I do not wish indignation or opinion to take the place of analysis and synthesis, but I should no longer refrain from comment. Bellerophon frequently rode Pegasus a thousand

*This story is the same as if Peary had said that he found a down hill route from the Bartlett Camp to the Pole. Desiring to avail himself of this favorable incline downward, he rushed men and dogs to the very limit of endurance, and when he reached the bottom of the hill he collapsed from sheer exhaustion.

Nevertheless, he rose and went back up the hill and traveled twice as fast going up as he did coming down.

†Table 1, Group 2.

‡*Hampton's*, Aug. 1910, Page 174.

miles in one day, but Eskimo dogs cannot be compared with Pegasus because the latter had wings. If one has sufficient faith, he may if he wishes, believe the story of Pegasus. But a story which alleges that Eskimo dogs attached to heavily laden sledges clambered over ice floes of the Polar Sea faster than 50 miles a day; that a human being much in need of sleep voluntarily postponed it for 30 hours; who was at the same moment so tired from travel that he could not step any further, even to gain the prize of his life's ambition, yet alleges that he did start out in that condition and traveled over 72 miles of latitude, and at the end of the journey says that it was a very pleasant trip, except a little smarting of his eyes; such a story is presumably *mythical.*

A casual reader of Peary's narrative would not notice these spaces of time between sleeps, or the long distances covered in the marches, so adroitly have the two facts been obscured. The method seems to have been to break the thread of the narrative at the psychological moment by diverting the attention of the reader. The truth, however, brought out by the charts and tables, is incontrovertible. These hours, and these speeds, are utterly impossible. No comparisons by any criteria, as will be shown can be set up to justify them. They are surely fictitious hours, and fictitious speeds. This being accepted temporarily as a known fact, it will not be a difficult task to find abundant evidence in corroboration of this fact. No one can claim such absurd impossibilities, especially when they traverse natural laws, and escape detection. I have presented the alleged facts as to Peary's speed north of the Bartlett Camp, and now turn to Peary's record south of Bartlett Camp, to give a complete outline of Peary's claims.

The alleged speed during the second part of Peary's journey south from Bartlett Camp to Cape Columbia, April 10, to April 23, is not so astonishing as that of his trip north, but from another point of view his statements on this subject are even more significant. When Peary reached the Bartlett Camp on his way south, he suddenly slackened his speed from an average

of 58 nautical miles a day, to 20.7 miles, or down to less than one half pace for the remaining portion of the journey to land. He was getting into competitive territory. Bartlett was traveling over the remaining route just ahead of him. Marvin, Borup, Goodsell and McMillan had preceded Bartlett over portions of the route, and all followed the beaten track to land. Peary says* that Bartlett returned to land in 13 marches as against 22 outward, and in the same paragraph he further says that he (Peary) returned from the Pole in 16 marches against 27 outward; indicating that this comparison in "*marches*" without defining them as to length or time, is a sufficient justification of his own claim for speed. Before attempting a review of this method of comparison, it is necessary to get the truth and the alleged facts arranged in proper order for ready examination, and to exclude that which is misleading.

Bartlett left Peary at Camp 22 (87° 47′) on April 1, at 3 p. m. He says in his alleged log† that he arrived at Cape Columbia on April 18, late in the day. (To fix some definite time, we will call it very late, 11 p. m.) This would make him absent enroute 17 days and 8 hours, or 416 hours. But at camp 18, after getting 8 hours sleep, he says he was detained by open water 27 hours. Therefore, he was actually 389 hours on the way (marching and sleeping). If, therefore, Bartlett made his return trip in 13 marches, as Peary says Bartlett did, he averaged 29.9 hours per march (sleeping and marching). The distance is 280 miles, consequently each march covered 21.5 miles or .71 miles for each hour absent. These are the alleged facts as to Bartlett (the proportion of time allotted for sleep not being given).

Now as to Peary's 16 marches. He says he left camp Jessup April 7, at 4 p. m. and arrived at Cape Columbia on April 23, at 6 a. m. This would make him absent enroute 15 days and 14 hours, or 374 hours. If, therefore, he made this trip in 16 marches as he said he did, he averaged 23.3 hours per

*Test, Page 63.
†Testimony, Page 50.

march (sleeping and marching). The distance is 413 miles, consequently each march covered 25.8 miles, or 1.08 miles for each hour absent. These are the alleged facts as to Peary (the proportion of time allotted for sleep not being given). It is immaterial for the present purpose that we are in ignorance as to the division of time in either case as to marching or sleeping. These figures may be tabulated as follows:

TABLE IV

BARTLETT from 87° 47′ to Cape Columbia.

13 marches	29.9 hours per march	389 hours.
13 marches	21.5 miles per march	280 miles.
or	.71 miles per hour.	

PEARY from Camp Jessup to Cape Columbia.

16 marches	23.3 hours per march	374 hours
16 marches	25.8 miles per march	413 miles

or 1.1 miles per hour.

The table shows that Bartlett made .71 miles of southing for every hour of the 389 hours enroute, and that Peary made 1.1 miles of southing for every hour of the 374 hours he was enroute. Peary, therefore, made 55 per cent better progress than Bartlett. In other words, Peary, traveling at the rate of 1.1 miles per hour, could in 23.3 hours (sleeping and marching) cover 25.8 miles of progress. It would take Bartlett traveling only .71 miles per hour, 36.3 hours to make the same distance. Putting these facts in another form Peary claims to have been 55 per cent more efficient in leg propulsion over practically the same road than was Bartlett. Peary and his party had in their blood fatigue toxins of 304 miles more traveling than had Bartlett. Peary had a large party of men and dogs, the slowest or weakest of which set the pace for the whole party. Yet notwithstanding these handicaps it is claimed that they traveled over the same ice 55 per cent faster than did Bartlett with his two Eskimos and light sledge.

It must also be considered, that the pace south of the

Bartlett Camp was less than one half that which Peary had made anywhere after Bartlett turned back at 87° 47′. If Peary had actually let himself loose when south of Bartlett Camp, as he claims he did on his way to the Pole; or even when coming from beyond the Pole to Bartlett Camp* at a clip of 58.0 nautical miles per march, instead of 20.7 miles, (which if we estimate that he took 8 hours for sleep and marched 16, would be at a pace of 3.6 nautical miles per hour actual speed over the ice) he would, when about half way to land, have passed Bartlett as if the latter were at anchor, and would have reached the shore ahead of him. The claim is so unique it will bear a little closer examination.

This presumed race with Bartlett is excellent for purposes of comparison, because the conditions south of the Bartlett Camp were practically the same with both contestants. They were traveling over the same ice, at almost the same time, one following in the tracks of the other, ending as they started one day's march apart. Only the naked question of speed and endurance is left for comparison. Bartlett was a young and vigorous man of 33. He says he had a light sledge, 19 dogs, and a small party of two Eskimos. They had traveled 304 nautical miles less than Peary and his men had. Because of these advantages, Bartlett was physically able to travel on several occasions FORTY HOURS in ONE MARCH. Bartlett is undoubtedly a wonderful man physically. Borup says of him in his book,† "His tremendous endurance and ability to keep going forever showed up on the Polar Sea, where on seventeen of the twenty-two northern marches he pioneered the way, and on his way to land SOMETIMES MARCHED FORTY HOURS WITHOUT SLEEP." "Sometimes" is not a definite word, but it undoubtedly means more than once, or several times. (Bartlett's report to Peary in the alleged log gives information in this matter).‡ Peary was comparative-

*Group 7.

† *A Tenderfoot with Peary*, Page 316.

‡Testimony, Page 50.

ly an old man, (53) and a cripple much annoyed with his infirmities. He had a large, and admittedly a very tired party of men and dogs. The odds in every conceivable way were against him. He started with a handicap of 304 nautical miles, more than the entire distance before them from land. He had more than twice as far to go as Bartlett had.

In the absence of any valid reasons, or satisfactory explanations to the contrary, who would naturally be vanquished in this race to land? The record says it was Bartlett and beaten ignominiously over two to one. Peary's record is that he traveled 584 nautical miles while Bartlett was making 280. Bartlett started south April 1. Peary started north from the same spot April 2. Bartlett reached the *Roosevelt*, April 24, (no hour given). Peary reached Cape Columbia, April 23, 6 a. m., (the day before). He rested there 2 days; then in 2 marches more he reached the *Roosevelt*. Had he kept on from Cape Columbia without resting he would have reached the *Roosevelt* at 6 a. m. on the 25th, arriving one day behind Bartlett. He started the race one day behind. Bartlett, therefore, was in fact by fair reasoning just as long to a day, in marching from Bartlett Camp to the *Roosevelt* over a route of 370 nautical miles, as was Peary who claims to have traveled over a route of 674 nautical miles.

If the 30 hours said to have been lost by Peary in the alleged tarry at the Pole, should be added to his marching time, he could have reached Cape Columbia on the 21st at midnight, and arrived at the *Roosevelt* the 23rd at midnight—ONE DAY AHEAD OF BARTLETT. This may be presented in the more simple form of hypothesis. Suppose it to be true that on April 1, 1909, Bartlett and Peary were in fact, at the Bartlett Camp, at 87° 47′; that each proposed to go from there to Cape Columbia, by different routes; that Bartlett was to take the shortest possible route, direct to land, which was 280 miles distant in a straight line measurement; that Peary was to take a route which would be more than twice as long as that which Bartlett was to take, or 584 miles in a straight line measurement.

Suppose further that Peary and Bartlett were in all respects equally equipped for these journeys; that they were both of the same age and strength; that both had the same number of sledges equally loaded; that both started at the same hour; that the only handicap was the extra distance of 304 miles that Peary would have to travel.

Who must you believe would in such circumstances get to Cape Columbia first? Is that an easy question to answer? Could anyone hesitate a moment to express his belief? Could there possibly be but one answer, namely, that each would travel exactly as fast and exactly as far as the other, and that Peary having twice the distance to go would be twice as long in getting to land?

But the assumption is wrong. They were not equal in all respects. It may be fairly said that they were unequal in all respects; furthermore that all the inequalities were in Bartlett's favor. Bartlett was young and the strongest man in the expedition. On his journey to land, Bartlett took only one sledge which for rapid traveling was very lightly loaded. He took a surplus number of dogs, knowing it was a race for life. He strained every nerve to get to land as quickly as possible. He had the strength and used it. Several times on this trip to land, he marched 40 hours before stopping to rest, or sleep. Peary, his competitor in this race, was not only handicapped by 304 miles greater distance to travel, but had passed the meridian of life; one leg that had been broken gave him, he says, much trouble up at least to the Borup Camp. He had no toes except one little one. He had 5 sledges to manage, and each sledge fully loaded. Six men composed the expedition with supplies to last as long as possible (50 days at least.) Now answer, which one of these competitors, so unequally equipped, with all the additional handicaps against Peary, would be likely to take the most time in reaching land? There is only one honest reply: Bartlett could probably travel at least twice as fast as Peary could.

It may be thought then, that as Bartlett reached Cape

Columbia in 22 days, Peary who had over twice the distance to traverse, and was probably traveling half as fast, must have consumed fully 88 days. The record is, however, that Peary started one day behind Bartlett, and was, measured by the facts, one day behind him when he reached Cape Columbia. Instead of traveling half as fast as one would naturally suppose, the record shows that he traveled over twice as fast as did Bartlett.

Any section of this race journey may be separately reviewed where data exist for the purpose and it will be found to check out and sustain the theory that Peary's claims are impossible. As an illustration take the supposed race from the Bartlett Camp 22 to Camp 16.* Bartlett made this distance in 4 marches of 9-20-18-32 hours† respectively, or in 79 marching hours. But he rested as follows: 14 hours at Camp 21, about 6 at Camp 19, and 36 at Camp 18, or 56 hours altogether. Peary claims to have made this same distance 9 days later, also in *4 marches* (from April 10 to April 13 inclusive.) He, however, gives no information as to how many hours each march consumed, but he must have had at least three sleeps in the four marches *viz.*, at Camps 21, at 19, and at 17.‡ This fact affords opportunity for comparison. If Peary was, therefore, 96 hours on the journey; and if he marched as many hours to make this distance as Bartlett actually did, *viz.*, 79 hours, it left him only 17 hours for rest in comparison to 56 for Bartlett. In other words the feat of his caravan in endurance and leg efficiency and rest, in comparison with that of Bartlett is as 17 to 56, in favor of Peary. He traveled as fast and as far with his caravan, with 17 hours rest as Bartlett did with 56, and Bartlett being forced to rest by detention 36 hours, traveled *32 hours* on the last march without rest or sleep.

Peary does not publish any details, but there is no escaping these conclusions. We cannot see the wind blow, but we can see the straws bend and sway. From these indications, we

*Diagram 8.
†Log, Page 50, Test.
‡*North Pole*, Chapt. 23.

know as well as if it could be seen from whence the wind comes. Can there be any truth in this record? Is there an honest, candid, intelligent person in the civilized world, who believes what Peary has written regarding this speed; who believes he made the speed he claims to have made? Will any such person possibly believe it, when the truth is known to him?

Peary has written* (after leaving the glacial fringe going north), "That the edges of the ice fields farther out, where they come in contact, will have piled up into a series of pressure ridges, one beyond another, which anyone traveling northward from land must go over, as one would go over a series of hills." He published in his book many photographs of what purport to be those hills. Opposite page 240 is one of those pictures entitled "A typical example of the difficulties of working sledges over a pressure ridge." Taking these admitted conditions into account, and remembering Peary's claims for speed over such conditions, we ask the person who still believes Peary's story, to answer this final question: "What speed would Peary need to claim that he actually did make over such surfaces as he describes above to be *disbelieved?*"

So much on the analysis of *speed.* The foregoing pages have required many figures, but I wished to be thorough at the risk of being tedious, and to omit nothing that appeared important. For this same reason I have isolated the subject of *speed* from all others, even from those that are intimately connected with it, preferring to let it rest at present, upon the question as to whether or not the speeds claimed are in themselves possible. In the following chapter, an attempt will be made to confirm the conclusions now reached as to the impossibility of Peary's speed, by showing how his statements are contradicted by Henson and by the records of other explorers; how Peary's stories conflict with each other, and even with the claims voiced by the friends who tried to defend him, and finally by revealing the manner in which he has skillfully and deliberately arranged conditions to justify these impossible marches and rates of speed.

North Pole,* **Page 196.

CHAPTER III

FINAL PROOFS ON SPEED

AN analysis of Peary's claims for speed would be incomplete without checking Henson's records, to ascertain the evidence given on speed by Peary's only civilized companion at the Pole. The negro Henson, who accompanied Peary after Bartlett returned, is an intelligent man. He has written interestingly for the magazines; has published a book,* has lectured in the East and exhibited his polar pictures. Henson had been in the employ of Peary over twenty years. He was with him in Nicaraugua, and his experience on the Arctic Sea equals that of Peary, for he accompanied Peary on all his voyages. He understands astronomical observations, he built all the sledges for the expedition in 1909, took over a hundred photographs while on the ice, and kept a diary.

Henson could not have known some things as well as Peary knew them, for they were in Peary's keeping. Peary knew what his own calculations were and whether they were traveling north or south. Henson could only know what Peary permitted him to know. There were no stars shining during that arctic day. The sun was circling over head continually, never below the horizon. Local midday, or midnight, was only actually known when the altitude of the sun was the lowest, or the highest in its continual circling above the horizon. But no altitude was taken during the five days after Bartlett left them. The circuitous traveling over the ice packs, under such circumstances, would make it impossible for any one, without a constant study of the compass and its changing variation, to know the general direction of a march. In such things as these, Peary possessed the only knowledge.

**A Negro at the Pole.*

They traveled by compass, and paradoxical as it may seem, the needle pointed practically south, but approximately to the north magnetic pole. This is one of the anomalies of the situation which requires very minute attention and calculations. The north magnetic pole is farther south from Cape Columbia than the geographic pole is north. In traveling by a compass one must necessarily understand this variation, and constantly make proper allowances. In starting from Cape Columbia, the needle points nearly south-south-west, or say roughly 135 degrees deviation gradually pointing nearer to the south, as one advances north, until one reaches the North Pole (or west to the meridian of the magnetic pole, when in either case it would, if true, point directly south). Under these peculiar circumstances, it is easy to imagine how one could be deceived by glancing at the compass. If not fully informed as to the variation on that day, one might think he was traveling north when in fact he was going south. If he were on the meridian of the magnetic pole (about 96° west) he might think he was actually at the North Pole, as the compass would point south in either case. Not a word of this is mentioned in Peary's book. It is referred to here as one of the many reasons why no one but Peary would be likely to know in which direction they were progressing. It would require the closest calculation even for him to know. In practically all else, save location and direction, Henson knew facts and events as well as Peary knew them; and what he recorded in his diary as to those facts or events is as reliable as what Peary recorded; actually more reliable, because of his comparative disinterestedness.

Henson would not be considered a disinterested witness, however, in a contest between Cook and Peary. The honor of standing at the North Pole as a discoverer with Peary would be something that Henson would be loath to part with. Under such circumstances the Eskimos would be better witnesses. But as between Henson and Peary as to facts known to both, Henson's testimony is decidedly the better, because Peary has a motive that might influence his entries in his diary, or in his

published narrative. When Peary says he went from Bartlett's last camp to the Pole, spent thirty hours there, and returned to that camp in eight days, traveling 304 nautical miles, meanwhile, he realizes that he must present to the world facts corresponding to his statement. Such a responsibility is not incumbent on Henson.

Henson in an article published in the *Boston Sunday American*, July 17, 1910, wrote that upon the arrival of the expedition at the alleged Camp Jessup, Peary turned against him and arranged with the Eskimos to leave Henson in camp and without Henson's knowledge to proceed a distance out of his sight and there establish the location of the North Pole. The plan was thwarted because one of the Eskimos secretly informed Henson of the scheme. However, Peary's coldness toward Henson continued. By the time they arrived at the ship, Peary would scarcely speak to him civilly, and when they reached New York he dismissed him. Later in 1910, Peary and Bartlett went to Europe on a lecture tour, and Henson sought employment in writing and lecturing on the polar trip. Whatever Henson wrote or said at that time was uncensored by Peary. He relied of necessity upon his diary and his memory.

During this period Henson published an article in the *World's Work*, April 1910, describing fully the events of the so-called "dash to the Pole" *i. e.*, from the time that Bartlett turned back until the expedition left Camp Jessup on its return south, (April 1 to 7 inclusive). He covered almost everything of interest in that "dash," building igloos, driving and feeding dogs, rations, marches, distances, conditions, weather, leads, etc. He gave a very intelligent description of all matters of interest, much superior in clearness and candor to anything yet written by Peary. This story is characteristic of all of Henson's writings and lectures up to that date. In the *Boston American* he also gave very full details of each day's events north of the Bartlett Camp as they were noted in his diary. When Henson's two articles are checked with Peary's

narrative, on the same topics on corresponding dates, one wonders how such a difference could exist in two stories of the same trip.

For instance, Henson says they traveled 18 hours the first day, April 2.* Peary says 10 hours. Such conflicting statements create doubt and call for investigation. For that purpose and for the sake of clearness, the following extracts from the stories of both Henson and Peary relating to *speed* are placed in parallel columns, the statements on each date, being directly opposite each other. As these extracts are introduced simply for elucidation, the six days only are included, that immediately follow Bartlett's departure; *viz.*, April 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and part of the 7th. Henson's statements are taken from the *World's Work*, April, 1910, Peary's from his book "*The North Pole*," and from *Hampton's Magazine*, August and September, 1910.

TABLE V

A TWICE TOLD TALE.

HENSON		PEARY	
LEADS			
A lead is a lake or a river of open water *always* extending *east* and *west*. (Peary corroborates this in his narrrative—Ed.)†	Apr. 4	Peary says, we came upon an open lead running *north* and *south* etc. (Straight for the Pole.—Ed.) P. 282.	
MARCHES			
Apr. 2 Marched 18 hours.	Apr. 2	Marched 10 hours. P. 276.	
FATIGUE			
Apr. 6 "I who had walked know that we had made exceptional distances in those five days. So did the Eskimos for they also had walked. Lieutenant Peary was the only surprised man. He, because of his crip-	Apr. 6	"Yet with the Pole actually in sight, I was too weary to take the last few steps. The accumulated weariness of all those days and nights of forced marches and insufficient sleep, constant peril and anxiety	

*Table 5.

†Note that Henson describes the leads as East and West, Peary North and South. This is the only mention by Peary in his book of a lead running North and South. They are uniformly referred to as running East and West, Pages 197,207,222 *North Pole*. Bartlett in his alleged log, Pg. 50 Testimony, Washington, D. C., under July 8th, refers to negotiating leads East and West. Henson (see paragraph under *Leads*) says they always extended East and West.

TABLE V.—(Cont.)

	HENSON		PEARY
	pled feet, *had ridden on the sledges the greater part of the journey up*, as he did upon the *return*. Riding one cannot so well judge of distance traversed."		seemed to roll across me all at once. I was actually *too exhausted* to realize at the moment that my life's purpose had been achieved." P. 287.
Apr. 6	"Henson's Photographs on pages 12829 and 12830 in World's Work, April 1910, illustrating the marching expedition, both show Peary alone riding on his fur-lined riding sled.		
	GOING		
Apr. 2	(This date is referred to by Henson only on the 4th and 5th as being "the same" *i. e.* "same struggle," etc.) Read Apr. 4. T. F. H.	Apr. 2	A fine marching morning. The best we had had since leaving land. P. 275.
Apr. 3	Ice was so rough and jagged that we had *to use* our *pickaxes constantly* to cut a trail.	Apr. 3–4	Weather and going *even better* than the day before. The surface of the ice except as intercepted by infrequent pressure ridges, was as level as the glacial fringe from Heckla to Columbia and harder. Traveled ten hours straight ahead. Dogs on trot and occasionally on the run made 25 miles. P. 280.
Apr. 4–5	The monotony of the trail was unbroken by any incident of importance. There was the same laborious struggle over pressure ridges. The same detour to the *east* and *west* to avoid crossing a lead, or the same skillful manipulation of the sledges in going directly across the running water. "The same" meaning same as 2nd and 3rd.	Apr. 4	Evening. *Going same* (*as on the previous march*) but the sledges always haul easier when it is not quite so cold, and the dogs were on the trot much of the time Toward the end of the march, we came upon a lead running *north* and *south** and as the young ice was thick enough to support the teams, we traveled on it for two hours. The dogs galloping along and

HENSON	PEARY
	reeling off the miles that delighted my heart. P. 282.
	Apr. 5 The going was even better than before etc. P. 284.

The first thing to attract attention on the Peary side of the column is the *going*. Notwithstanding Bartlett's great distress from breaking trails through almost continuous pressure ridges, and constant delays by water leads, on the very first day after Bartlett turns back, when Peary must break his own trail and build his own igloos, everything changes. Peary says:

"*April 2*, the going is the best since leaving land.

"*April 3*, delayed a little at first, but soon struck the level old floes, made twenty miles.

"*April 4*, same as before *i. e.* 'Going better than before besides sledges haul easier, because it is warmer.'

"*April 5*, even better than before."

It was no longer necessary to increase the excellence of the going, because the next morning the 6th at 10 a. m., he reached the Pole after finding perfectly smooth ice all the way. On April 5, for the first time on the journey a newly frozen-over lead was found running "north and south" instead of "east and west," and making a road straight to the Pole over which his dogs galloped for two hours at a stretch, covering 28 miles. These conditions continued practically uninterrupted until he reached the polar camp and returned to land. In fact he only claims to have been delayed two hours in the whole journey of 21 days.

Now re-read Henson's column:

"*April 2 and 3.* Ice so rough and jagged that pickaxes were used constantly to break a trail.

"*April 4 and 5.* Same laborious struggle over pressure ridges, same detour to the *East* and *West*, to avoid crossing a lead, etc., etc."

Not a word from Henson about ice being "as smooth as between Heckla and Columbia, and harder." Not a word about that

lead "frozen perfectly smooth running north and south" over which the dogs galloped at the 28 mile a day clip, that so "delighted" Peary's "heart." It does not seem possible that the two descriptions relate to the same four days of the identical trip; or that they are published as history, and one of them vouched for by a Geographic Society composed of distinguished scientists.

With reference to leads, Peary's descriptions in the early part of his book fully corroborate Henson that the leads "all run east and west." Peary then says, "Sometimes they are rivers of open water, from half a mile to two miles in width, *stretching east and west.*"* In that part of his narrative where he attempts to show that Cook could not possibly have reached the Pole, Peary also agrees with Henson regarding ice conditions. He says: "There is no smooth, and very little level ice between Cape Columbia and the North Pole—the surface of the Polar Sea during the winter may be one of almost unimaginable unevenness and roughness . . . anyone traveling northward from the land must go over as one would go over a series of hills." This description is practically identical with all Peary's former accounts, and with his daily description up to the time Bartlett turned back. It is substantially the description given by all polar travelers, including Henson and Borup. The only instance where Peary varies his language is in his narrative after Bartlett turned back, and in this he is contradicted by Henson, one of the party and his only witness. The references in the two narratives for these five days, as to temperature, weather, wind, observations and rations, are just as contradictory as those presented in the parallel columns, but it is needless to cite them here.†

There are other significant features in this disclosure. Henson evidently was unsophisticated as to certain matters outside of his actual observations. If Peary said "We are traveling north," Henson accepted it. If Peary said: "We are

**North Pole*, Pages, 197-207-222.
†Chapter VI.

at the Pole," Henson believed him: it is natural that he should. Peary claims to have started April 2, for the Pole, 133 miles distant, over an uncharted, unknown, desolate space. Of necessity, he must make a circuitous route, varying the direction, constantly seeking the easiest lines of travel, avoiding obstructions of every nature, ascending and descending the uneven surfaces as shown in the photographs. He says they traveled in this manner five days averaging over 31.8 nautical miles a day as shown in Group 7, not considering detours, or 36.6 statute miles per day on the average in a straight line of progress (counting detours and deviations makes possibly 40 statute miles per day). They take no observations, guessing at the progress made. At the end of the five marches, they guess they are at the Pole. A halt is called, igloos built, at the first opportunity an observation is taken, and they find the geographical axis of the earth to be exactly where they guessed it was, "just behind the igloos." But upon verification during 30 hours of observations, during which time the ice had drifted "*to the east*" they removed the flag pole 150 yards from its first location to have it in the exact spot. This is Henson's version. Did he invent all this, or were these actual *performances*?

Henson and Peary when these articles were written were, as explained above, not in concord. Therefore, Henson presents his version as he understands it, as he saw it, as he knew it. He has not taken the precaution, probably because he thought it unnecessary, to submit his data to censors before publication to get a consensus of opinion as to whether or not it coincided with the statements made by Peary. Had he submitted it to the Peary Arctic Club, or the National Geographic Society before promulgation, it might perhaps have been revised to appear more in harmony with Peary's version. It is presented here as it is published. After Peary obtained his honors from the government, however, he again became friendly with Henson, and early in 1912, about three years after he left the Arctic, Henson's book was issued by the same publishing house that printed Peary's "*North Pole.*" I place little or no

credence in Henson's book because manifestly it is censored in an endeavor to have it agree with Peary's story as to matters of facts north of the Bartlett Camp. Nevertheless, in matters south of the Bartlett Camp there are some inadvertent omissions in this censorship. One of these omissions bears directly on the question of speed.

Under date of March 4, fourth day out from land going north Henson writes:* "By seven o'clock (a. m.) we were following the Captain's trail. Very rough going, and progress slow up to about nine o'clock, when conditions changed. We reached heavy, old floes of waving blue ice, THE BEST TRAVELING ON SEA ICE I EVER HAD ENCOUNTERED IN EIGHTEEN YEARS OF EXPERIENCE. We went so fast, that we more than made up for lost time, and at two o'clock, myself in the lead, we reached the igloo built by Capt. Bartlett." This speed so impressed him that he refers to it once more the next day: "March 5: A clear bright morning 20° below zero; quite comfortable. REACHED HERE YESTERDAY AT TWO FORTY-FIVE P. M., AFTER SOME OF THE FINEST GOING I HAVE EVER SEEN." Here is a statement from one member of the expedition who has had equal experience on the Arctic Sea with Peary himself. His testimony is: that on the 4th of March they had "the best traveling on sea ice I ever encountered in eighteen years experience." For two hours that day (from 7 to 9 a. m.) he says they made slow progress, but thereafter (from 9 a. m. to 2:45 p. m.) they were continually on this imperial highway. Diagram No. 3 shows they made ELEVEN MILES that day. If we assume that they made NO progress whatever, from 7 to 9 a. m. when he says they made "slow progress," but made the full 11 miles after 9 a. m. it would be a rate of speed 1.8 miles per hour. Ten hours traveling at that speed would mean 18 miles for a day's march *on the best ice conditions ever seen* on the Polar Sea by Henson in 18 years (including of course all the ice between land and the Pole, because this was written years afterward). He never describes such ice again.

**A Negro at the North Pole*, Page 84-86.

Henson advances another thought on speed:* "March 15, the dogs with tails up and heads out, stamped off mile after mile in rapid succession, and when we camped I conservatively made the estimate *FIFTEEN MILES. It has to be good going* to make such a distance with loaded sledges, but we made it and I was satisfied." Fifteen miles in one day, according to Henson, requires "good going!" This corresponds very well with "the finest going I have ever encountered," 18 miles in one day. If the truth is told, 18 nautical miles in a straight line measurement is about the maximum of human achievement, and with loaded dog teams over polar ice a claim of much more than this is undoubtedly invention. Would an unsophisticated man like Henson publish these statements, years after the journey was over, in order to show that 15 to 18 miles was possible over ice floes, and state that it was the greatest speed he had ever known in 18 years experience on the Polar Sea, if it were true, as Peary claims, that 20 miles was the very *slowest* speed the party made after leaving the Bartlett Camp? And that this speed of 20 miles was increased daily thereafter until it reached 82.8 statute miles in one march?

Peary insists that Cook's claim of the discovery of the North Pole should not be seriously considered, and makes the charge that his two Eskimo companions say that he did not go far from land. If these Eskimos said this and knew what they were saying, everyone will agree with Peary that Cook's claims should be discredited. Waiving the fact that this charge against Cook is indefinite, ambiguous, hearsay, *ex parte*, presented by an adversary, that it is with equal authenticity denied, and that its force depends wholly upon the truth or falsity of the averment, anyone will admit that if the alleged statement of the Eskimos be true, it unquestionably defeats the claim of Cook. This situation is now reversed. The guns heavily loaded are pointed toward Peary. Henson's relation to Peary is entirely different in a controversy over facts, from the relation of the two Eskimos to Cook. These

**A Negro at the North Pole*, Page 99.

objections do not apply to Henson's writings. Henson's evidence is not given from hearsay, it is not presented by an adversary; it is not denied. On the contrary, it is presented voluntarily, and it is in writing. Not a word of it has been questioned by any member of the expedition. It is taken from a diary and Peary himself has vouched for the witness. The frank manner in which this testimony is given with no thought of discrediting Peary, the occasion for its offering being only to enlighten the public on facts known to Henson, and further that it was offered during Peary's absence in Europe, makes its sincerity unquestioned, its truthfulness undisputed, and consequently it makes the disposition of Peary's claims for speed more complete. If, for selfish reasons, Henson had desired to discredit Peary, as Peary desired to discredit Cook and had unequivocally declared to the public that Peary's allegations as to speed and marches were false; such a positive declaration would have been ineffective compared with the irresistible force of the conclusion drawn from this innocent exposure. Peary had no white witness to question his claims after leaving Bartlett, but to have had perfectly smooth sailing for his story he should have discarded also his black witness.

Without further comment at present on the evidence furnished by Henson, let us presume for purposes of discussion, that Peary did travel somewhere beyond the Bartlett Camp eight marches, at the end of which he was back at the same point. But in these eight marches, did he go to the North Pole and beyond, and was it possible for him to do so, when such a feat is compared with anything heretofore recorded in polar work? As a basis for answering these questions, let us examine the records of several polar explorers, note their records of speed; and then draw our conclusions.

Cyrus C. Adams, Editor of the American Geographic Society, writes:* that "four miles per day is considered a fair average over polar ice, although Cagni made 7 miles." George Kennan in the *Outlook* October 2, 1909 in a criticism of

*Review of Reviews, Oct. 19, 1909, Page 424.

Cook's claims says with regard to speed: "I believe the highest record made by a sledging party in a *single season*, was about 11 degrees." (Peary indicates that he sledged nearly 10 degrees, in 21 days.) General A. W. Greeley in his *Hand Book of Arctic Explorations* says:*

"McClintock already famous as the greatest of Arctic sledgemen, surpasses himself in a journey remarkable for its duration, distance and success".
(145 days, 1661 miles: 105 days, 1401 miles: a daily average of 11.4 and 13.3 miles respectively). Referring to Sverdrup, General Greeley writes:†

"Sledging conditions were favorable to an extent unsurpassed in polar work so that he usually made from 15 to 17 miles per day." Speaking of Lockwood he says:‡ "The average daily travel to this point was 9 miles, the greatest ever made by man power in a very high latitude on any extended journey. It was within 2½ of the average attained 600 miles to the south over ordinary ice, by the great Arctic sledgeman, McClintock."

Nansen and Johansen were on the polar ice over a year (15 months), including the crossing of Franz Joseph Land. They were in all latitudes between 80° and 86° 15′ and of course, out in all months of the year. They encountered every possible condition of ice and weather. During their entire journey of 450 days, they never exceeded 20 miles of daily travel except on one day, when the conditions were so favorable that they "think" they went 25 miles. Their average was less than 2 miles per day of actual latitude made.

The greatest daily distances achieved by Shackleton were made on his return from near the South Pole, and occurred on five successive days. The record shows daily distances of 20-18-22-26-29 statute miles or 17.39, 15.65, 19.12, 22.6, 25.21 nautical miles. He measured the distance with an instrument on his sledge which gave the actual surface distance and included detours, deviations and relays. If proper deductions

*Pages 155-156.
†Page 208.
‡Page 230.

were made for detours, etc., the total would be a little less than these figures, but it is unnecessary for the present purpose to make this estimate. Regarding these five days Shackleton writes:*

"*January 13.* We have a sail up continually.

"*January 16.* Strong following blizzard; 18½ miles.

"*January 17.* We did our best march, for it was mainly down hill and we covered 22½ miles, dropped over 500 feet. Sail hoisted. This sail is our great help.

"*January 18.* Our best day 26½ miles *down hill* with strong following wind.

"*January 19.* Another record day for we have done about 29 miles to the north rushing under sail."

He was descending a mountain slope averaging a fall of 900 feet per day; a following blizzard was driving him on; sails were spread; he was on land. Yet 29 statute miles (25.2 nautical miles) was his greatest effort, and for one day only, just equaling Nansen's best day, of 25 miles. Shackleton records from 3 to 5 miles while making altitude. When he finally reached the plateau, near the end of his journey south, with comparatively smooth surface and with the weight on his sledge reduced to 70 lbs., but with his party fatigued by long travel he says: "We could only make from 12 to 14 statute miles a day." These two instances, (Nansen and Shackleton) would indicate about the limit of human endurance, Nansen under exceptionally favorable ice and weather conditions over polar ice floes, and Shackleton under equally exceptional conditions, but on land.

There were only two days in all of Dr. Cook's travels that he claims to have made as high as 26 miles per day and these were pedometer miles, measured over the actual surface of the ice and of course included detours. On the day he started from land, March 18, he says he made 26 miles, and on March 21, he made 29 statute miles (25.2 nautical miles) traveling *14 hours.* Every condition being favorable he embraced the opportunity and "made a forced march of 14 hours," after which he was so

**Heart of the Antarctic.* Vol 2, Pages 344-347.

fatigued that he "fell asleep while the snow house was being built." Cook's record alleges that he traveled a whole season, over every possible condition, from the Pole to the 79th parallel with the current in his favor, at an average of less than 14 miles per day.

Scott, in planning his expedition to the South Pole, considered that 13 geographical (or nautical miles) per day was the proper distance possible to advance. He usually fell short of this allowance, and only exceeded it a few times by a small margin. On one day only (December 20) while on the comparatively smooth ice of the glacier he made 19½ geographical miles including deviations. Amundsen used skis, light sledges, often aided by sails and he had a decline on his return of over 10,000 feet to assist him. In consequence of all these conditions he made an average of 15½ miles going south up hill, and 22½ miles returning.

It is obvious from inquiry into the records that nothing exists in the history of polar exploration to lend credibility to Peary's claims for miraculous conditions and speeds. The writings and pictures of Parry, Nansen, Cagni, Cook and Peary himself (in 1906) are all in agreement, and indicate unmistakably the character of the conditions for traveling over the ice floes of the North Polar Sea. They establish a reliable criterion by which to gauge the truth or falsity of any representations which appear unreasonable. The table on the following page illustrates the historical facts of travel on the polar pack:

The views of another investigator of this subject may be of assistance. A very intelligently written book,* referring to Peary's speed only, sums up in round figures, in excellent form (after reducing the marches and distances to statute miles plus 10% for detours, and 30% for drift), the results of Peary's return trip as follows:

"The return south was started, and the *Roosevelt* reached, —Via Cape Columbia—IN EIGHTEEN MARCHES." "The straight line distance from the Pole to Cape Columbia is

**Did Peary Reach the Pole?* H. Lewin, Page 126.

TABLE VI

Name of Explorers.	Date	Best Single day's march	Ave.	Remarks	Latitude Reached
Parry	1827	6	5.0	5 miles at first dropped to less than 2.	82° 42′
Nansen	1895	25	5.2	176 days on the ice.	86° 05′
Cagni	1901		8.0	8 miles at first. 7 miles later.	86° 34′
Peary	1906	30	7.2	Estimated 30 miles for best day.	87° 05′
Cook	1907	29			North Pole
Peary	1909	20	9.0	*Cape Columbia to Bartlett Camp* on only 2 days did he make 20 miles a day from Cape Columbia to Bartlett Camp.	87° 47′
Peary	1909	62	27.7	From Bartlett Camp via. Pole to Cape Columbia.	North Pole

475 miles. If we add to that the 100 miles from Cape Columbia to Cape Sheridan where the *Roosevelt* laid we obtain the stupendous average of THIRTY SEVEN AND A HALF MILES PER MARCH FOR EIGHTEEN CONSECUTIVE MARCHES." "But the crowning climax of fast traveling was not attained until the two final marches which were of FIFTY ONE AND THREE QUARTER MILES EACH FOR two consecutive marches." "One hundred and three miles for two marches, over rough ice, in practically two days, at the age of fifty three, as a final joy-burst after 1000 miles of hardship and danger!"

Having in this manner described the return trip the writer proceeds to illustrate in round figures the entire journey with comparisons with other explorers. He writes* that Peary actually must have traveled 1500 miles in 45 days or an average of 33⅓ miles per day. "His average from Pole to S. S. *Roosevelt*, 45¾ miles per day. His average for the final two marches, 73½ miles per day." The author then makes the following comparisons:

**Did Peary reach the Pole*, Page 47.

Greeley, (Capt. Lockwood)	60 days averages under	12	miles.		
Parry	61 "	"	"	10	"
Duke Abruzzi	104 "	"	"	8¾	"
Nansen (28 years old)	120 "	"	"	6¾	"
Johansen (25 years old)					
Nares	72 "	"	"	2½	"

Pooling the above for purposes of discovering the standard average for travel over the ice gives an average of exactly EIGHT MILES PER DAY. Mr. Lewin then writes:* "Which is the most likely to be correct, the standard of five well known explorers, showing EIGHT MILES PER DAY, or the record of Commander Peary showing THIRTY-THREE AND ONE THIRD MILES PER DAY?" He verifies his figures by omitting in all cases the allowances for detours, drift, etc., and considers the straight line only, and by this method makes Peary's average 23⅓ miles. The five others, 5 miles, or Peary† *still more than four times as great as the standard average.* Concluding he says: "There remains but little to be added. A speed of 33⅓ miles per day is frankly impossible over the polar ice." "A speed of one half that is equally impossible and without precedent."

It is interesting at this point to mention records of speed other than those of polar explorers. Harrington Emerson in *The Twelve Principles of Efficiency* reaches the conclusion that in walking, "The able-bodied, in so far as not hindered, have an average rate of 4 miles; and from these observations of voluntary effort, we can well establish a walking standard of 4 miles an hour with disapprobation if the rate falls below 3 miles, with special reward to those who reach and pass the 4 mile mark." Edward Payson Weston, a trained athlete, the greatest known pedestrian, traveling over smooth graded roads, railroad grades and paved city streets, failed to make the distance from Boston to San Francisco (about 4000 miles) in 100 days, an average of 40 statute miles per day, yet he availed himself of weather conditions, rested in stormy weather, and traveled on selected roads.

*Ibid Page 74.

†*Did Peary reach the Pole*, Page 76.

Peary's claims as I read them are that he, in a somewhat crippled condition, with Henson and four untrained Eskimos, bundled in arctic clothing, driving the same dogs all the way, trudging with loaded sleds, over "mountains" of snow and ice, walked an actual distance of over 900 route miles in 21 days* averaging over 45.5 route miles per day; and on 3 of those days† (reaching and leaving the Pole) made an average of 95.68 route miles per day, and one day made 101.92 route miles.‡ Could he physically do this? Could his Eskimos do this? Could his dogs possibly do this? Could Weston himself have done it, with such underfooting, and under such other conditions as existed, compared with his best effort actually reported? Could he have done it between Boston and San Francisco, traveling every day regardless of the weather, if there had been slippery, glassy ice, covered with yielding snow, on the roads every foot of the way?

I have now shown that no criteria can be set up from arctic sledging, either over land or sea to justify a belief that Peary's story of his trip after leaving the Bartlett Camp is true. Every branch of polar sledge work, every suitable phase of pedestrianism has been considered; Peary's only civilized companion has been called as witness, and the testimony is unanimous that these claims for speed are preposterous and impossible. It would be vain to attempt to break the force of this array of undisputable evidence which establishes beyond controversy that Peary's alleged speed from the Bartlett camp to the North Pole and return is without foundation. This analysis, however, must endure any test that may be applied to it. The points under discussion will be returned to the crucible for an acid test to see if the conclusions reached are corroborated by further evidence. It is only fair to examine Peary's own statements as the final test of the truth of his claims for speed.

In *Hampton's* June, 1910, Peary attempts to show, that

*Group 6.
†Group 7.
‡Group 8.

under the conditions which he actually found on the Polar Sea, it would be absurd for Dr. Cook to claim that without supporting parties, relying wholly upon what his sledges could carry, he went to the Pole and "returned alive." To emphasize this point, the article on the subject is prefaced with the following Editorial note.*

"If Peary could get to the pole, why was it impossible for Cook?" Asked hundreds of times by our correspondents, that question is answered in this and succeeding installments.

"Commander Peary's detailed story of the dash is the answer. It is convincing proof of the absolute necessity for the complete, carefully prepared material and persons he employed. He shows you the daily and hourly uses made of his organization; shows how impossible the accomplishment would have been without these.

"Read this article, and you will know *why one white man*† *and two Eskimos with their* necessarily limited equipment, could never reach the pole and get back."

Again at the end of the article is another editorial as follows:‡

"In the July issue, Commander Peary will tell how they finally crossed the 'Big Lead' after five days' perilous delay; of their progress northward over the moving ice fields of the Polar Sea; and of his final parting from Ross Marvin, who was destined to lose his life on the way back to the land in command of the third supporting party. This narrative shows how impossible it would be for any one, without Peary's system of relay parties and a large number of assistants, ever to reach the pole and return."

To impress upon the reader still further the real purport of the article, Peary in the body of this same article also writes printing all the words *in italics,*** "*Without this sytem it would be a physical impossibility for any man to reach the North Pole and return to tell the tale.*"***

*Hampton's, June 1910, Page 773.
†Meaning Cook.
‡June Hampton, Page 778, Par. 2.
**June *Hampton*, Page 781, Par. 2.
***Alluding to Cook.

Here are extracts from the article itself:*

"*There is no smooth* and very *little level* ice between *Cape Columbia and the North Pole.*

"The surface of the Polar Sea during the winter† may be one of almost unimaginable unevenness and roughness. *Nine tenths of the surface of the Polar Sea* is made up of these floes. The other one tenth, the ice between the floes, is formed by the direct freezing of the sea water each autumn."

"And the edges of the ice fields farther out, where they come in contact, pile up into a series of pressure ridges, one beyond the other, which anyone traveling northward from the land must go over *as one would go over a series of hills.*

"But the pressure ridges above described *are not the worst feature of the Arctic ice. Far more troublesome and dangerous are* the 'leads' (the whalers' term for lanes of open water), which are caused by the movement of the ice under the pressure of the wind and the tides."

"‡Sometimes these leads are mere cracks running through old floes in nearly a straight line. Sometimes they are zigzag lanes of water just wide enough to make crossing impossible. Sometimes they are rivers of open water from half a mile to two miles in width, stretching *East and West* farther than the eye can see."

"**But, briefly stated, the worst of them are: The ragged and mountainous ice over which we must travel with our heavily loaded sledges."

"***The reason of our success was a *carefully planned system* mathematically demonstrated."

****"In order that the reader may understand this journey over the ice of the Polar Sea, it is necessary that the theory and practice of pioneer and supporting parties should be fully understood."

"The use of relay parties in Arctic work is new, but the idea was carried further in the last expedition of the Peary Arctic Club than ever before."

"First, because a single division, comprising either a small or a large number of men and dogs, *could not possibly* drag all

*June *Hampton*, Page 774. Par. 2.
†June *Hampton*, Page 776. Par. 1, 2, 3, 4.
‡June *Hampton*, Page 777, Par. 5.
**June *Hampton*, Page 778, Par. 2.
***June *Hampton*, Page 780, Par. 1.
****June *Hampton*, Page 781, Par. 1 and 9 inc.

the way to the Pole and back (some nine hundred miles) as much food and liquid fuel as the men and dogs of that division would consume during the many weeks of the journey."

(Remember the last paragraph above.)

"Second, it is absolutely necessary that the arduous work of trail-breaking for the first two thirds of the distance should be done by one division after another, in succession, in order to save the strength of the main party for its final dash alone."

"Fifth, at the very end, when the supporting parties have performed their important work of trail-breaking and transportation of supplies, the main party for the final dash *must be small and carefully selected as a small party can travel so much faster than a large one.*"

"The pioneer party was one unit division, made up of four of the most active and experienced men of the expedition, with sledges lightly loaded with five or six days' provisions, drawn by the best dog teams that could be selected from the entire pack. When we started from Cape Columbia this pioneer party, headed by Bartlett, went out twenty-four hours in advance of the main party. Later on when we reached the time of continuous daylight and sunlight through the twenty-four hours, the pioneer party was but twelve hours in advance of the main party."

*"The duty of this pioneer party was to make a march in every twenty-four hours in spite of every obstacle—excepting of course, some impassable lead. Whether there was a deep snow, or violent winds to be faced, or mountainous pressure ridges to be climbed over, the march of the pioneer party must be made; for past experience had proven that whatever distance was covered by the advance party with its light sledges could be covered in less time by the main party even with heavily loaded sledges, because the main party, having the trail to follow, was not obliged to waste time in reconnoitering."

"In other words, *the pioneer party was the pacemaker of the expedition,* and whatever *distance it made was the measure of accomplishment for the main party.* The leader of the pioneer party, in the first instance Bartlett, would start out ahead of his division, usually on snowshoes; then the light sledges of the party would follow after. Thus the leader of the pioneer division was pioneering ahead of his own party, and that whole division was pioneering ahead of the main party."

"One great advantage which I had on this expedition was

*June (1910) *Hampton*—Page 782. Par. 1, 2 and 3.

that, owing to the size of my party, whenever the men in this pioneer division became exhausted with their arduous labor and lack of sleep, I could withdraw them into the main party, and send out a fresh division to take their place. *A large party is absolutely necessary to success.*"*

This portion of his narrative appears to be rather clumsily designed. Peary obviously desires to show that Cook with his equipment, never could have gone to the Pole, and that he (Peary) owing largely to his "system" did go. His statements are profusely italicized to emphasize these two features. Peary's logic, which is based wholly upon premises furnished by himself, appears to be good; and if his premises are truthfully represented, the conclusions drawn therefrom would seem to be sound. But nothing is established by Peary's representations until we ascertain the truth of his data.

Peary left the Bartlett Camp on the morning of April 2 (according to his story), and on the morning of April 23—twenty-one days and one hour† thereafter, he reached Cape Columbia. He says, that during this interval he went north 7 miles beyond the Pole, traveled 16 miles in cross directions (8 miles out and back), and returned to land, a total distance of 584 miles.† This time of 21 days and 1 hour is divided as follows: 4 days, 19 hours going north from Bartlett Camp,‡ 2 days and 18 hours returning to Bartlett Camp,** and 13 days and 12 hours from Bartlett Camp to Cape Columbia.***

Suppose for purposes of illustration and comparison (as shown in Diagram 4) that on his arrival at Cape Columbia, 13 days (round figures) from the Bartlett Camp, he had retraced his steps, and followed the beaten trail back to the Bartlett Camp, consuming 13 days more (the same as he consumed coming south). He would then have covered every foot for a complete round trip from Bartlett Camp to 7 miles beyond the

*Some of the italics in the foregoing extracts are mine. T. F. H.
†Group 6.
‡Group 10.
**Group 7.
***Group 8.

Pole with a reconnoiter of 16 miles, thence to land, and back to the starting point in 34 days, passing over every foot of ice twice. He says he had 60 days' supplies on his sledges and in his dogs when he started from the Bartlett Camp. Therefore, he would now have 26 days' supplies left. From Cape Columbia, he says he marched on to his ship *Roosevelt* at Cape Sheridan 90 miles, in two days. Continuing at this speed he could have traveled back and forth, equalling the distance between Cape Columbia and Cape Sheridan, 13 times, before his supplies would have been exhausted.

To put it in simpler form, he could have started in the first place from Cape Columbia taking the same equipment that he says he started with from the Bartlett Camp "60 days' supplies on his sleds, and in his dogs." He could have discarded all his supporting parties. He might have made 13 trips of two days each between Sheridan and Columbia for exercise and training; thereby consuming 26 days, before starting north on the Polar Sea. He could then have made his dash for the Pole, including a round trip to a point 7 miles beyond the Pole; traveled 16 miles reconnoitering while there; and have returned to Cape Columbia in 34 days, or 60 days altogether, before he exhausted his resources. He would not have traveled a single foot, any faster than he has said he actually did travel over that identical space. In view of this comparison, what becomes of the *inestimable value* of supporting parties which are emphasized so strongly; of the "great system" without which "no one can go to the Pole and return alive?" Does he not disprove in the September magazine what he said in the June number? This is not a fanciful sketch, but an accurate compilation of Peary's own statements.

It may be said in reply to this, that I am wrongly assuming in this hypothetical illustration, that this imaginary trip with this supposed equipment would find a trail ready broken as far north as the Bartlett Camp, (which of course would not be true) and that consequently my illustration is not a fair one. I am not making any such assumption. I am illustrating and com-

paring results as Peary has said they actually occurred; as he has described them in his book after the alleged journey was over. It is true that I am ignoring what Peary said about obstacles in the June *Hampton's*, just as Peary himself must ignore them to justify his later claims for speed. They must be ignored to get at the truth. The bugbears about "breaking trails," "mountains of ice," "series of hills," "open leads," etc., it must be presumed, were erected in June *Hampton's* and also in the early pages of Peary's book, to show the impossibility of Cook's claims. This is clearly indicated in the preface and suffix, in the article itself. In Peary's book describing his "dash," these difficulties are evidently not supposed to have existed, for they are not mentioned or taken into account. I am presuming that Peary took with him north from the Bartlett Camp the identical equipment that he says he did take, over the same ice that he describes under the exact conditions he said he found. I am following his narrative.*

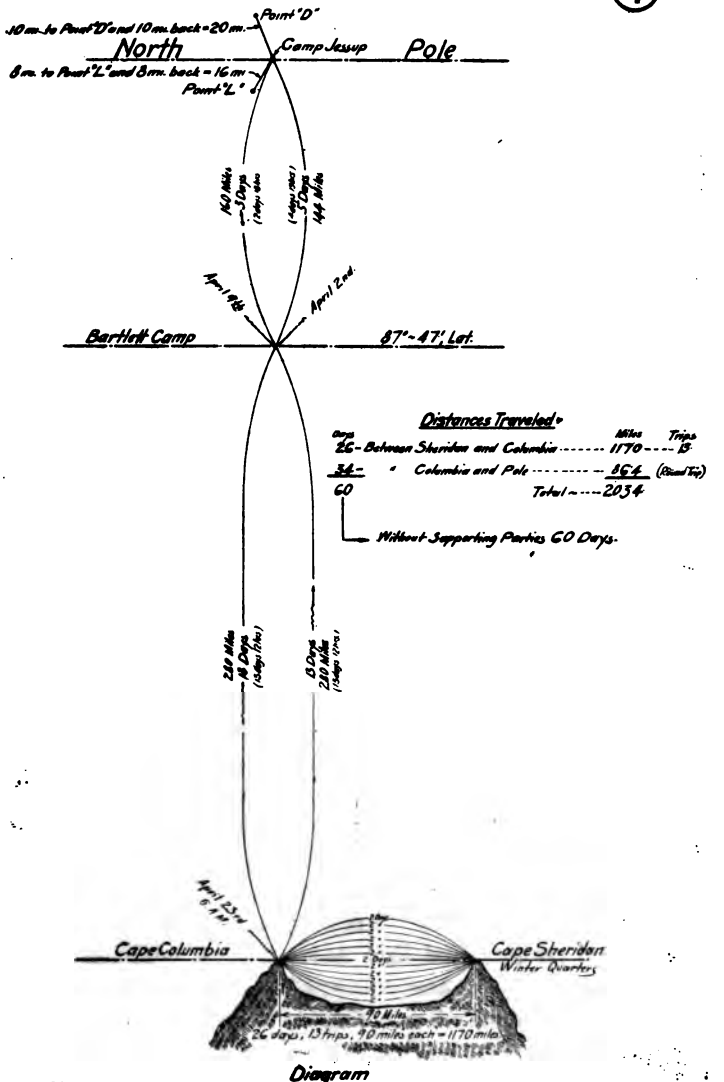
"Many laymen have wondered why we were able to travel faster after sending back each of the supporting parties especially after the last one. To a man experienced in the handling of troops, this will need no explanation. The larger the party and the greater the number of sledges, the greater is the chance of breakages or delay for one reason and another. A large party cannot be forced as rapidly as a small party.

"So that, with my party reduced to five picked men, every man, dog, and sledge, under my individual eye, myself in the lead, and all recognizing that the moment had now come to let ourselves out for all there was in us, we naturally bettered our previous speed."

It is self-evident, even to those inexperienced in the handling of troops, but it surely favors Cook's contention. It gets Peary off his reservation. In *Hampton's*† another sentence followed which is omitted in the book. It reads: "The story of the conquest of the pole is what it is, not what somebody thinks it ought to be, or might have been," which is unquestionably true.

**North Pole*, Chapt. XXXI, Page 285-286.
st, 1910.

DIAGRAMMATIC 4 CHART



Diagram

Showing the distances Peary would have made had he traveled 60 days with his Polar Party, without other supporting parties, over the same ice, at the same speed, in the same manner, as he says he actually did do.

Whereas of fact that his supporting parties were needless, as were three-fifths of his Polar Party.

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DIAGRAMMATIC CHART

Diagram

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It will be noticed that there is not a word about the advantages of a broken trail in the above quotation to justify Peary's speed. To have called attention to a "broken trail" or "series of hills," or "mountains of ice" in this special description would have been stupid indeed, and would have nullified the purpose of the description. Peary had just finished his description of the marvelous speed he had made to the Pole after leaving the Bartlett Camp and leaving the broken trails. It was a description of traveling over untrodden snow and virgin ice floes written in justification of that speed. He evidently thought some explanation necessary to account for such claims for speed when breaking his trails himself (if any were to be broken) and doing the camp work himself. He, therefore, wrote the above paragraphs as a fitting climax to his description of his miraculous speed.

Peary could not safely have arranged the inconsistencies in his book so closely together as to say in one paragraph that "one can travel faster over a beaten trail," and then show, that as soon as he had left the beaten trail, he made *three times* the former speed. Such an incongruity would be immediately noticed. Prudence, therefore, probably dictated to him that it was better to separate his contradictions as far as possible in the pages of his book.

The record of every day north from Cape Columbia to the Bartlett Camp is principally a record of the trials of "trail breaking." It is a description of genuine Arctic traveling, as we have been accustomed to read it. One of the principal "essentials of success" says Peary, is "returning over the broken trails of the outward march." Much detail was thought necessary to show exactly what trail breaking is; how much labor, strength and time it consumes; and to show that without a broken trail ahead little progress can be made.

This allegation about broken trails is unsupported by the facts as given in his book. It further presumes that a road can be made across the ice covered polar sea over which an expedition may travel back and forth in comparative ease and comfort for at least 54 days.

This alleged possibility discredits every report ever made by those explorers who have written upon the subject. The north polar sea has been penetrated on many meridians by many persons at different times for 300 years. It has been crossed in many latitudes by many drifting ships. No such possibility has ever been suggested, but its absolute impossibility is the unanimous report including Peary in all his previous writings, and the writings of Borup of the present expedition.

The record north of the alleged Bartlett Camp in respect to broken trails will bear a brief examination. The italicized lines in the following quotation cover every word in Peary's book as to breaking trails after leaving the Bartlett Camp:

"April 3. **There were some broad heavy pressure ridges in the beginning of this march and we had to use pickaxes quite freely. This delayed us a little,* but as soon as we struck the level old floes we tried to make up for lost time. As the daylight was now continuous we could travel as long as we pleased, and sleep as little as we must. We hustled along for ten hours again, as we had before, making only twenty miles *because of the early delay with the pickaxes and another* brief delay at an arrow lead." Whatever the above paragraph contains as to travel, breaking trails or delays; whether it be much or little, it is all the hindrance he says he had after leaving the Bartlett Camp until he reached land. On the day to which the extract refers he says he made 20 miles, equalling in distance the greatest single march he ever made over any trail prepared by Bartlett. He obviously omits trail breaking, in order to make use in the proper places in the proper way of both conditions. One cannot eat his cake and have it. Peary was either delayed by breaking trails after leaving the Bartlett Camp or he was not. One or the other position must be assumed on that part of the route, as well as elsewhere.

The very first day north of Bartlett Camp, he alleged that he advanced farther than any one day since leaving land or 25 miles of latitude. The second day he makes only 20 miles, being as stated, slightly delayed. But every day thereafter,

**North Pole*, Page 279.

until he has been to the Pole and beyond and reaches the Bartlett Camp on his return south, he goes faster and faster. Next day 25, then 28, then 32-36-45-53, then the next day is the last, he is back to the starting point, the Bartlett Camp. What are the reasons given for this sudden and marvelous increase in speed? In order to justify the accomplishments of the first five days going north (of 25-20-25-28-32 miles and then a whirl around the outer stake of 26 miles against an average of 9.1 when broken trails helped him so much) he explains that the perfect conditions permitted it. It was perfect going (in this story) all the way to the North Pole. A veritable boulevard. He has said that one can travel from 50 to 100 per cent faster if one does not need to stop for "breaking trails." His record indicates that he reverses this assertion for he traveled 350 per cent faster immediately *after leaving the broken trails.*

Our astonishment, however, was not fully aroused when reading of this first part of his journey north of Bartlett Camp. He is, to be sure, traveling over an unbroken trail, but he is making only the comparatively insignificant increase in speed of about 3½ times as fast as he did when the trails were broken for him. The explanation is very well phrased to justify the northward march. But our astonishment reaches the bursting point, when reading of his return to the Bartlett Camp over this same ice, when he says he traveled more than six times as fast as he did over the beaten track with Bartlett's assistance. He surely cannot add 100 per cent to perfect conditions. He returns, making 45 miles of latitude the first day (the 7th), 53 miles the second (the 8th) and on the third he camped after making only 25 miles, because that brought him back to Camp Bartlett. He was 4 days 19 hours going north over perfect roads, but only 2 days and 18 hours returning over the same road (during which latter time he used 6 hours in a side excursion of 16 miles, which is not included in the outward route). Consequently, the record is that he made over 350 per cent better averages going north* and over 630 per cent better

*Group 14.

averages returning south,* than he made when trails were broken for him by Bartlett and his supporting parties.

If that portion of Peary's narrative which relates to his rapid speed proves anything, it is (in one way of viewing it) *that broken trails were hindrances to his progress.* At any rate whether it proves this or not, or indicates it or not, he never went so very fast until he was rid of them. He commenced his increase the day he left broken trails, and he did not begin to slow down until the day he returned to them. He then kept slowed down as long as he was on them; never again in a single day reaching the speed he made while away from them. Peary's narrative is necessarily conflicting in order that it may be evidence against Cook in one instance and in another that it can be used in favor of himself. But he goes too far and is afterwards obliged to contradict himself in his book in order to lay a foundation for his own marvelous speed, which he attempts to show later in his story. His attempt to blow hot and cold in the same breath is an embarrassing undertaking, and he is certainly riding for a fall, when he attempts in this overstrained manner, to show that Cook could not but that he himself could go to the Pole. What the actual truth is, no one can definitely tell, but any one can show what Peary's record obviously discloses.

In further attempts to justify his speed, Peary's statements as to leads are important. Henson and Bartlett corroborate Peary's oft repeated remark that all leads that they encountered "run east and west." But the leads evidently varied once north of the Bartlett Camp. Peary says he struck one lead on April 5, frozen over "perfectly smooth running, *north* and *south.*" Henson, who was with him, did not observe this ice avenue! But were these open water leads such awful terrors in Arctic travel after all? Peary writes in September, 1910, *Hampton's* in contradiction of the June article, that he traveled from the Bartlett Camp to the North Pole and back to land, across the Arctic Sea, and was not detained two hours on account of leads or anything else on the whole journey!

*Group 7.

Then in the June article (for Cook's benefit) there is "no *smooth* and *very little* level ice between Cape Columbia and the North Pole." But in the September article there appears to be some smooth ice. After he left the Bartlett Camp, "The surface of the ice except as intercepted by INFREQUENT pressure ridges was *as level as the glacial fringes from Heckla to Columbia* and harder; dogs on trot and occasionally on the run made 25 miles." This march brings him to the North Pole. Does not this attempt of Peary's to justify his own claims for speed prove too much? Is Peary not in fact proving Cook's contention in his frantic attempt to discredit him?

It is interesting and not invidious, in view of the jealousy which inspired this strained endeavor to discredit Cook, to apply the facts briefly as Peary gives them to Cook's route. The idea that "a small party can travel faster than a larger one" brings the matter down to exactly Cook's theory; that just sledges enough, sufficient food on the sleds and not an ounce of anything else reduces you to the Eskimo basis so that if success be possible, you will succeed. So far the two explorers seem to agree. Cook started from land at Svartevoeg, 520 miles distant from the North Pole, with 80 days' supplies. If Cook had found all the conditions as Peary claims to have found them, and could have traveled as fast as Peary claims to have traveled, Cook would have made two round trips to the Pole and back, 2080 miles, less 60.4 miles.*

Suppose when Cook returned from the north he had reported that he had been to the North Pole twice! But on his return from the second trip that his provisions gave out when he was 60.4 miles from land. But that he traveled this one day without food (or two days on half rations) and reached land safely. One can well imagine the criticisms that would have emanated from Peary's supporters in Washington. They were horrified when Cook's announcement (which preceded Peary's) showed that he had one day traveled 29 geographical miles by his pedometer or 25.4 nautical miles, and all of them explained

*Diagram 15.

in unison through the press, that it was impossible and absurd. Chief among the critics was Admiral Melville, himself an arctic hero of great renown, being one of the survivors of the ill fated *Jeanette*. His experience in traveling over ice floes on the Arctic Sea was as severe as anything in history. He was silent, however, when Peary's announcement of his claims came out later. Had Cook made the announcement that he had been twice at the Pole he would have only equalled Peary's claims, not exceeded them.

If Peary had availed himself of this admitted wisdom of Cook instead of the alleged wisdom of "experience" and of his "system" (if his tale be true), he would have saved 20 days of time and travel. If he had started from Cape Columbia with his negro and the four Eskimos with the 50 days' provisions that he had on his sleds, (60 days including the reservation in the dogs) he might have been back to Cape Columbia in 34 days or 3 days after his clumsy outfit had actually reached the Bartlett Camp. If Peary's story is found to be true, the North Pole is really but 16 days' march from Cape Columbia—32 days for the round trip. If means could be provided for lightening the sledge loads, possibly 30 days would complete the entire journey. It may well be doubted whether the Arctic Sea would so favor Peary that it would be a "series of hills," "mountains of ice," "open leads," etc., to obstruct the path of Cook and to be "infrequent" and as "level as the glacial fringes from Heckla to Columbia and harder" for Peary. Anyway some better foundation than Peary furnishes should be laid for such dispensation.

We have at least shown that Peary's narrative north of the Bartlett Camp is framed very unskillfully. But the story south of the Bartlett Camp is in many ways a masterpiece. Nevertheless, it is frequently as convincing of its untruthfulness as is the former part. Presumably it is written for the purpose of enlightening the reader, by descriptions of his journeyings

d. It is in truth a veritable labyrinth of puerile non-
l frivolous details, with scarcely a single statement

of a positive natural fact. It is difficult to believe that this work is not intentionally designed in every detail to prevent any one from knowing, except in a general way, what Peary actually did on the route south.

He says he was 13 days enroute (April 10 to 23) and made 13 marches.* But where he was at any particular hour, at any definite spot, even to igloos or camps; how many hours he marched; how many slept and rested, in any one 24 hour period, would puzzle a wise man to tell. One need only to attempt it to realize fully the ingenuity that was necessary to accomplish such a perfect result. The story completely conceals in mazes and irrelevant digressions the presumed object of its publication. However, there are circumstances that shed light on the facts.

In order to justify his claim for speed south from the Bartlett Camp, Peary with no explanation, cut it down to nearly one quarter of the pace which he claimed to have made north of that camp. The only way to account for this sudden diminution of speed at that particular point is that north there was only Henson to contradict it (and Henson's writings do contradict it), but that south there were others to contradict, and possibly to compare. It was safer for many reasons to make less claim for speed south of the Bartlett Camp.

Before passing final judgment upon Peary's claims over this space, let us examine the return record of his various supporting parties, beginning with Bartlett. The allegations in this case are found in Bartlett's (alleged) log, which Peary offered as evidence in Washington.

The following quotations cover the log from Camp 22 to the *Roosevelt*:†

"*April 1*, 1909, 3 p. m. left Commander with 19 dogs, 1 sledge, 2 huskies and just enough for 40 days. Midnight reached the twenty-first igloo, where we slept. Fine and clear fresh NNW wind. One of our dogs clipped its harness going back to commander's party.

*Diagram 3. Page 38.

†Test, Page 50.

"*April 2*, 2 p. m. broke camp, reaching the next igloo, boiled the kettle, then started on again. Quite a few changes in trail.

"*April 3*, 10 a. m. reached nineteenth igloo, slept here, killed three dogs, picked up a tin of blue pemmican. Fresh north wind, fine and clear. Lots of strips of young ice and changes in trail.

"*April 4*, 4 a. m. reached eighteenth igloo. Held up by water. Had a sleep. Noon walked to lead, found it had broadened. Saw a seal. Went back to igloo, had another sleep. Hazy, blowing fresh north, with drift.

"*April 5*, 2 p. m. wind dropped. Walked to lead, it had barely caught over. Indications of rafting. Had tea, and by the time we were ready owing to the rafting we could cross over. Wind light SW, hazy.

"*April 6*, 10 a. m. reached seventeenth igloo. Repaired our sledge. Had tea. Light SW wind, fine and clear. About midnight reached the sixteenth igloo, where we slept.

"*April 8*, reached the fourteenth igloo. Lots of strips of young ice, also leads of water, but by making detours east and west successfully negotiated them, also picking up main trail.

"*April 10*, reached the twelfth igloo. Simply a repetition of the other two. Marches fine and clear, moderate E wind.

"*April 11*, reached the tenth igloo, dead tired. Strips of young ice and leads of water. Sky overcast. Wind west.

"*April 13*, shortly after leaving igloo, lost main trail, followed Marvin's, losing it on a long, wide strip of young ice. Wind west, strong, fine and clear. Built igloo, first since leaving commander. Had a sleep and started on again. Shortly after leaving picked up main trail, reaching the seventh igloo; built a sledge; also had a sleep. Fine, clear and calm. From here we could see the land.

"*April 15*, reached the fifth igloo. Sky overcast, light east wind. Shortly after leaving lost trail on young ice, where we met a lead of open water.

"*April 16*, bad going at times during this march. Built igloo. Had a sleep. Weather clearing. Land obscured.

"*April 17*, fairly good going today. Fine and clear, hazy at times toward land. Built igloo, where we slept.

"*April 18*, reached ice foot a few miles west of Cape Nares. Fine and clear. Built igloo; had a short sleep. Started on again, reaching Cape Columbia late in the day.

"*April 20*, left Columbia, reaching the ship on the 24th."

This alleged log has some peculiar earmarks. It will be observed that traveling south from the Bartlett Camp until he passes the Marvin Camp, Bartlett writes apparently a genuine log. He gives the hours of departure and arrival each day, and other matters of interest, as is customary in writing up a log book. But as soon as he passes the Marvin Camp, when he gets into competitive territory himself, all changes. It is no longer a log, it is an ambidexter. He omits the hours of arrival and departure in every instance, and even omits 4 days altogether, without comment. Peary says that "Bartlett returned in 13 marches." But that fact does not show in this alleged "log" which covers dates from April 1 to 18. The "log" presumes to note regularly his sleeps; but it does not note any sleep from April 6, 12 p. m. to April 13, about a week. Perhaps Peary calls this ONE MARCH.

This "log" indicates that during the 18 days' trip to land (April 1 to 18 inclusive), Bartlett slept only 10 times; two of those were on the 4th when he did not march, being detained by a lead. It would, therefore, appear that Bartlett marched on the average about two days before stopping to sleep. To make it plainer, he actually made altogether the equivalent of 8 marches without any sleep. (This exceeds the 29.9 hours shown in table on page 37 but it agrees fairly well with Borup's statement.) Furthermore, in this alleged Bartlett log, it will be observed that he omits 4 days; the 7th, 9th, 12th and 14th, (and also omits after Apr. 6th all reference to hours of arrival and departure.) It is probable that on these days he was marching and not sleeping. Anyway this furnishes some data from which to make deductions.

If Bartlett marched 40 hours at times without sleep, as Borup says he did, or made an equivalent of 8 extra marches, during the calendar days he was on his journey, (for purposes of comparison with Peary), Bartlett did actually march the equivalent of *26 days* enroute. In other words, if Bartlett had slept every day and marched only the regulation 10 hours each day, he would have been 26 calendar days getting to land instead

of 18. Peary alleged that he (Peary) followed over this same trail with his caravan, and made it in 13 days (or 13 marches), that is in just half the time that Bartlett really used.

Bartlett had only "one sledge, two huskies with 19 dogs and just enough for 40 days." He evidently had plenty of dogs, for he killed 8 the second day out. It would seem that he could and should have made much faster time per hour than could Peary. He was returning to land, had great physical endurance, reserve, vitality, against which he drew liberally in order to get off the ice before it broke up. Had Bartlett, therefore, marched only the regulation 10 hours per day, he would have arrived at Columbia on the 26th of April, instead of the 18th, which would have been three days *after* Peary's arrival.

Take another view. Both claimed to have started from the Bartlett Camp at 87° 47′, Bartlett on April 1, Peary the next day on April 2; Bartlett going south to land with one day's start, and Peary one day later going north to the Pole, spending one day and a half there, and returning over the same route, in the same tracks to the same place. It will, therefore, be plainly seen that had Bartlett marched only 10 hours each day, Peary coming down the stretch behind him, *would have overtaken him and passed him*, and reached land three days *ahead* of him. Bartlett, therefore, was able to keep out of his way and reach land first, only by marching (or making a record of marching) without sleep 40 hours at a time.

It is perfectly clear from these comparisons, that Peary's testimony that Bartlett went north in 22 marches and returned in 13 is only a half truth, which is in this instance, equivalent to an untruth. As a matter of fact, and as a just comparison Bartlett went north in 22 marches and returned in 24 marches. The whole truth would have made the statement entirely different in effect, but it would, of course have spoiled a plausible comparison. Forty hours in one march is practically four marches by way of comparison with marches of 10 hours each, not *one* march as Peary reports it for comparison. This point

can be analyzed a little finer to satisfy those who wish greater exactitude.

Leaving out of the equation the prodigious energy and physical endurance of this man Bartlett who can march 40 hours at a stretch without sleep, and considering only his leg efficiency, and that of his dogs, it will be found that the truth is, that he actually marched in a given number of hours, at about the same speed, covering about the same distance when returning south, as he did going north, with the supporting parties. Conceding that Bartlett was 26 marching days of 10 hours each, returning to land, and that of these, (in even figures) one and one half days were lost at the lead on the 4th, he would have actually marched 24½ days in returning, which is two days more than was consumed in marching, on the outward trip. If this proves anything, it is in effect, that it was impossible for him to make greater speed returning, than was made by the expedition on the outward march to Camp Bartlett. It would be considered practically impossible to place any ordinary human being on the polar ice who could exceed Bartlett in energy, endurance, or perseverance, who in order to excel, marched 40 hours without sleep.

Next, what is the return record of the other supporting parties? Peary offers as further evidence to justify his speed south, the record in "marches" of his supporting parties on their return. Here is his voluntary testimony.*

"*Capt. Peary:* 'There is a matter that I would like to bring to the attention of the committee which may be interesting to some of these gentlemen here as a record of the return speed over the outward trail of the different supporting parties, which, if the committee deems it desirable, can be verified by these gentlemen. I am talking now about the trail from Cape Columbia to the Pole.'

"*Mr. Butler*: 'The ice trail?'

"*Capt. Peary*: 'The trail over the ice of the Arctic regions. Borup returned in one march over 3 outward marches. McMillan returned in 4 marches over 7 outward marches. Borup returned in 7 marches over 12 outward marches. Bartlett

*Testimony, Page 63.

returned in 13 marches over 22 outward marches. Peary returned in 16 over 27 outward marches. Those are the times and experiences of the various supporting parties over the same trail.'"

To make this testimony or record complete, there should be added: "Peary claims in another place to have returned himself from the Bartlett Camp in 13 marches" which corresponds with the report of Bartlett's record to a day.

What is the purpose of these comparisons by "marches?" It may be this: marches are elastic and indefinite, some of them in this record are 6 miles long, others 62: some are an hour or two in length, others 40. It can be readily understood that by proper division "marches" can be made to fit any circumstance. If the location and dates, the distance and time are concealed so that no one can tell what they are, marches are valueless for comparison. But their introduction is valuable evidence. Peary proves nothing by this comparison, but he attempts to do so. It is the *attempt* that is significant.

Peary writes further on the subject of return marches:*

"On returning to the *Roosevelt*, I learned that MacMillan and the doctor had reached the ship March 21, Borup on April 11, the Eskimo survivors of Marvin's party April 17, and Bartlett on April 24."

Knowing the dates that each of these men started on his return journey, it will be seen by Table No. 7 that the various supporting parties who returned to Cape Sheridan, or to the *Roosevelt*, consumed more time on the trip than did Peary with his tired party who followed.

McMillan made the short return trip of 82 miles on the Polar Sea, and 90 miles (Columbia to Sheridan) on land, in 6 days as against Peary's 8 days. He is the only one who equalled Peary's speed measured in days, instead of marches. But Peary rested 2 days at Cape Columbia on this return trip after his long journey. We do not know what McMillan did. If he stopped to rest the traveling days were equal. But McMillan and his dogs were fresh and had traveled only 82 miles

**North Pole*, Page 325.

TABLE VII

SPEED
COMPARING MARCHES.

RETURN FROM FARTHEST NORTH OF EACH PARTY.

	Peary	Bartlett	Marvin's Eskimos	Borup	McMillan
Section	Days	Days	Days	Days	Days
Bartlett Camp to Roosevelt	17	23			
Marvin Camp to Roosevelt	14	18	22		
Borup Camp to Roosevelt	11	14		22	
McMillan's Camp to Roosevelt	8	11			6

out and 82 back on the ice of the Polar Sea; Peary had traveled 864 miles. McMillan returned 90 miles over the freshly beaten tracks between Columbia and Sheridan, escaping a month's obliteration with which Peary would have to contend. There is some reason for his speed, while Peary has no such justification.

There is no section that can be selected from Peary's narrative where data exist for the purpose that does not tell the same tale as to his impossible claims for speed. Compare the return marches over the last section of the journey, *i. e.* from Cape Columbia to Cape Sheridan (Table No. 8). The story is the same. Peary as usual surpasses them all with no sufficient explanation of his achievement.

TABLE VIII

MARCHES OF RETURNING PARTIES FROM CAPE COLUMBIA TO CAPE SHERIDAN.

Pages	Book	Parties	Number of Marches	Remarks
197	Tenderfoot with Peary	Borup	3	
203	Tenderfoot with Peary	Marvin's Eskimos	3 or 4	Left 20th Arrived 24th No hours given.
53	Testimony Wash. D. C.	Bartlett	3 or 4	
317	North Pole	Peary	2	

Marvin's testimony might be of value, but Marvin is not here to tell what he knew, for he is reported to have been lost at the big lead, which is between Camps No. 4 and No 5. (Diagram 3). Peary writes of this as follows:* "The Eskimos say he was drowned, and so they, (the Eskimos) threw from the sledge everything they could find belonging to him; that the spirit, if it came back that way, might find these personal belongings and not pursue the men. Then they hurried for the land as fast as they could go."† Peary further says:‡ "Fortunately in throwing Marvin's things upon the ice, they overlooked a little canvas pocket on the upstand of the sledge, containing, a *few* of his notes; among them what is probably the last thing he ever wrote. It is so typical of the man's intelligent devotion to his duty, that it is here appended *as he wrote it.* It will be seen that it was written on the very day that I last saw him alive, that day upon which he turned back to the south from his farthest north."

"March 25, 1909. This is to certify that I turned back from this point with the third supporting party, Commander E. Peary advancing with nine men in the party, seven sledges with standard loads, and sixty dogs. Men and dogs are in first class condition. The Captain with the fourth and last support-

**North Pole*, Pages 318-319.

†Borup writes in his book that the Eskimos "camped on the nearest old ice and the next morning found his body had gone down."

‡*Hampton's*, Sept. 1910, Page 292.

ing party expects to turn back at the end of five more marches. Determined our latitude by observations on March 22, and again today, March 25. A copy of the observations and computations is herewith inclosed. Results of observations were as follows: Latitude at noon, March 22, 85° 48′ North. Latitude at noon March 25, 86° 38′. Distance made good in three marches fifty minutes of latitude, an average of sixteen and two-thirds nautical miles per march. The weather is fine, going good and improving each day."

Ross G. Marvin,
College of Civil Engineering.
Cornell University.

Peary writes: "Of course, Marvin's other belongings will never be recovered. They will be carried to and fro with the movement of the ice and the tides, finally sinking into the water." In this brief manner is related an unfortunate affair, which is alluded to here with hesitation. It seems almost ghoulish to make use of this sad event to bolster arctic ambition. The death of a comrade and shipmate is one of the saddest occurrences in life. It would seem that a proper consideration of the proprieties of the occasion would call for a different announcement even though this one is innocently made. Was it "fortunate" or unfortunate, that the sample of earth brought up at the alleged soundings of 700 fathoms and 310 fathoms was lost? These were the only complete soundings claimed to have been made in the journey. These samples of earth if they existed were absolutely all that there was, of a positive nature in the whole expedition that might be checked in the future. They are gone. Not a thing is left, but a story.

The Eskimos threw away all they could find belonging to him save "the little canvas pocket on the upstands of the sledge," which fortunately happened to be overlooked, and it seems more fortunate still, continued to be overlooked hanging on the upstands of the sledge right before their eyes while they were returning to the ship, and it was "fortunate" again to contain only this very certificate which is published in full, which just fits in to corroborate and furnish very welcome data. Marvin's diaries, his other writings, whatever they might tell,

especially the important soundings were all lost. Marvin breaks through the ice, out of sight, alone, ahead of the Eskimos, but the Eskimos with the heavy sleds pass over safely. Further details of this tragedy have probably been furnished Marvin's friends. If they were given to the public, it would much relieve the tension. The nature of this sorrowful tale precludes further allusion to it, in a cold calculating analysis.

Henson describes the action of the Eskimos as follows: "The foolish boys, in accordance with Eskimo tradition, had unloaded all of Prof. Marvin's personal effects *on the ice.*" These things of Marvin's, like the pemmican cans that Peary distributed on his outward trip as beacons for his return, would very likely have remained "*on the ice,*" right on the trail, unless that particular spot of ice floated away. It will be noticed that the Eskimos followed "the trail of Marvin's footsteps" to the spot where he is said to have broken through the ice. They, of course, made a trail of other footsteps themselves from there on to land, as did Bartlett who followed them. But the peculiar coincidence is that the trail of these Eskimos, after leaving this spot is the only one between the North Pole and land that is not left intact, and it breaks singularly enough right at Marvin's grave. Bartlett writes in his so-called log:* "April 15. Reached the fifth igloo. Sky overcast, light east wind. Shortly after leaving lost trail on young ice, where we met a lead of open water. After a while the lead rafted so that we could cross." This brings Bartlett apparently right to the spot where Marvin was alleged to have been drowned, following the trail all the way. He sees the trail, but he does not report having seen Marvin's things that were left "*on the ice*" by the Eskimos. The trail seems to break right there or near there.

Peary also comes along a few days later and he too reaches the fifth outward camp and writes:† "So far we had seemed to bear a charm which protected us from all difficulties and dangers. While Bartlett and Marvin and, as I found out later,

*Testimony, Page 51.

†*North Pole,* Page 312.

Borup had been delayed by open leads, at no single lead had we been delayed more than a couple of hours. It had seemed as if the guardian genius of the polar waste, having at last been vanquished by man, had accepted defeat and withdrawn from the contest." He then writes:* "Although the 'Big Lead' was frozen over we found that Bartlett on his return had lost the main trail here and did not find it again. For the rest of the ice journey, therefore, we were compelled to follow the single trail made by Bartlett instead of our well beaten outward trail. I could not complain. We had kept the beaten road back to within some fifty miles to the land." Peary, therefore, as well as Bartlett and the Eskimos marched with an unbroken trail right to the spot where Marvin was reported drowned, and where according to the story, naturally his things would have been seen lying "*on the ice*" near by or in the trail. But although the Eskimos went directly on to land, their trail broke right there before Bartlett's arrival and took away Marvin's things, including the samples of soundings and then closed solid again. Consequently, Bartlett makes a new trail over the ice where Marvin's things would naturally have been, and this new trail remains intact so that Peary follows it on to land.

If there is one fact more prominent than another in this peculiar coincidence, it is that the disappearance of Marvin's things escaped the notice of Peary, Bartlett and Henson in all their writings. They make garrulous accounts in superfluous detail, of many non-essential, and some non-sensical things of daily occurrence. But the only breaking of the trail on the whole trip, occurring right at the grave of a comrade, the tragic event of the expedition, the loss of the specimens of the alleged soundings in Marvin's possession, the only thing they could have brought back that might sometime be checked by other explorers, is not even worth a word of notice. The breaking of the trail is the only accident that can be thought of, that could have happened to let them pass that spot without observing these things of Marvin's as they passed. Therefore, an un-

*North Pole, Page 214.

faulted trail remained intact from the day of leaving land, until land was again sighted by Bartlett on his return all the way from Cape Columbia to the Pole and back across the whole circumpolar sea except a temporary fault quickly restored by Bartlett at the grave of Marvin.

There is now no positive evidence furnished (except by Bartlett) that Peary ever went north of 85° 23′ where Borup turned back. Here a sounding is alleged to have been made of 310 fathoms, and it is the last that was made. Borup could have taken the samples back with him, but did not. There is, therefore, not one tangible thing, that can be used to show that Peary ever proceeded beyond this point. This sounding even, is not positive evidence, for Peary reports to the Government on October 28, "Unfortunately the samples of soundings on the northern journey beyond the sounding of 110 fathoms were lost with Professor Marvin." This statement reduces the positive evidence of soundings "made all the way to the Pole" to a point marked zero.

It is true, Peary writes that attempts to get soundings were made after leaving the Borup Camp, but they were surely only allegations, as it will be noticed that not one of them makes any record except "no bottom" which is meaningless when it is noticed how they were made. The alleged sounding of 1500 fathoms near the Pole is surrounded with so many absurd features, that it is impossible for experienced men to give it any credence. He had only one lead shaved down to 14 lbs. left, to sink one and three quarters miles of wire in that arctic current, which "piles up those stupendous pressure ridges, mountains high." The wire he says, was drawn out of icy water six days before, and wound on the reel when the thermometer was 40° below zero. How could it be unwound? How long would it take? How deep would 14 lbs. sink it? Peary writes:* "In pulling up, the wire parted a few fathoms from the surface and lead and wire went to the bottom." This statement may be important in the future if other soundings

**Outlook*, Sept. 18, 1909, Page 101.

are made at that point. It would be interesting to hear from the Naval Department as to this addition to hydrographic science, that was reported to them.

There is, therefore, not a scintilla of positive evidence except that of Bartlett that Peary went on this trip beyond the Borup Camp 85° 23′. Borup turned back at this point. Marvin, Bartlett, and Peary were left. Marvin is dead. Bartlett's mouth is sealed. Henson's work is censored. All beyond this depends upon the word of Peary.

Having so far reviewed Peary's narrative as to speed, and shown that doubts may properly exist as to his ability to make records as reported, suspicion is fully aroused. As a mere matter of justice we must inquire into the defense made for Peary's claims for speed, although the contention, that Peary did not make the speed he claims, can be nearly as well shown by his champions as by analysis.

Before Peary published his full story, all the facts were alleged to have been submitted to a committee of the National Geographic Society, who upon an alleged scientific examination, announced to the world that Peary had proved to them that he had been to the North Pole. To defend themselves, they came to his relief when questions as to the veracity of his claims began to appear. In the *Congressional Record* of March 22, 1910 is a speech by Congressman Moore in Peary's behalf (in which is included a letter from Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, director and editor of the National Geographic Society), replying to Congressman Macon's speech previously delivered regarding the speed Peary claims to have made. As this letter is the first authentic information given out in reference to the famous decision of the Geographic Society, it is interesting to quote from it.

Referring to the time occupied by Peary in his last dash to the Pole, Mr. Grosvenor says:

"In view of the recent published statement by a Member of Congress doubting the distances traveled by Peary on his last northern sledge journey, I have gone to some trouble to

obtain correct figures from the narrative of Peary's *last* and *previous expeditions*.*

"Anyone who cares to take the time and trouble can verify these figures, and will find the following results:—

"Peary's average distance per *march* from Cape Columbia to where Bartlett turned back was 12.8 miles. Had it not been for the north wind two days, setting them back, this average would have been 13⅔ miles. Between two observations taken by Marvin the average of three marches was 16⅔ miles. Several of the marches were 20 miles."

"His average, from the time Bartlett left him, to the Pole was 26 miles. His average on his return was 25.6 miles."

"For comparison with the above figures, as showing that these averages are not at all excessive, the following facts can be taken from the narrative of the last expedition and previous ones."

"Peary's last 2 marches on the return, from Cape Columbia to the *Roosevelt*, were 45 miles each. On this and previous expeditions the journey from Cape Heckla to the *Roosevelt*, a distance of 45 to 50 miles, was made in one march. The distance from Cape Columbia to Heckla was also made on other occasions in one march. The march from the *Roosevelt* to Porter Bay, a distance of 35 miles, was repeatedly made in eight, ten and twelve hours. McMillan and Borup, returning from Cape Morris Jessup to the *Roosevelt*, made the distance of 250 miles or more in 8 marches, an average of over 31 miles a march. Peary, in one of his earlier expeditions made the distance from Cape Wilkes to Cape D'Urville, a distance of 65 to 70 miles, in one march. He repeatedly made the march from Cape D' Urville to Cape Fraser, a distance of 40 miles, in 1 march, and in the winter of 1899-1900 traveled from Etah to a point in Robertson Bay, 60 miles distant, in less than twelve hours."

"On his return from Independence Bay to Bowdoin Bay, Peary averaged 20 miles a day for 25 successive marches; 210 miles in 7 successive marches (an average of 30 miles a day), making the last march of 40 miles, all these with dogs driven by Eskimo drivers."

"On more than one occasion in the fall of 1900, Peary's parties went from Lake Hazen to Port Conger, both by the Bellows route and by the Black Vale route, distances either way

*It will be noticed that he is comparing Peary with Peary, with what he claims at one time with what he claims at another.

of 50 miles overland, in 1 march. This after the sun had set for the winter."

"In February, 1899, before the sun returned, Peary (with both feet frozen six weeks before) sledged from Conger to Cape D'Urville, a distance of over 200 miles, in 11 marches, in an average of about 20 miles. In March of 1902, he went from Cape Sabine to Port Conger, a distance of 250 to 300 miles, as traveled in 12 marches, an average of 21 to 25 miles, and later covered the same distance again in 11 marches, an average of 22 to 27 miles."

"In the history of Polar exploration, no one has had so much and such long-continued training in ice work as Peary; his speed is the result of long years of practice, resulting in great physical endurance and skill in the use of the sledge."

Signed "GILBERT H. GROSVENOR."

One would expect in a communication from a prominent member of the Geographic Society something that would inspire confidence in the methods of that organization, and be convincing as to the thoroughness with which they would treat any matter intrusted to their judgment, especially at a time when they were asking the whole civilized world to accept their conclusions as infallible, and when it is said that even to question them "is to stultify the national honor." Is this communication, entitled to that great respect and does it in fact tend to enlighten Congress, or to mislead it? Whatever may be one's opinion of this, surely Mr. Grosvenor's methods of comparing speeds and the mode of reasoning therefrom. which evidently are the methods adopted by the National Geographic Society in solving this question of world wide interest, are sufficient to discredit the entire communication, It will be examined at some length in view of its great interest.

It will be noticed that not one of the comparisons in the letter is made with other travelers on the Polar Sea, but all are comparisons of Peary's own statements made at different times. The letter even compares one end of the same journey with the other, as proof that both are true. In making comparisons for the sole purpose of arriving at the truth as to the rates of speed made by Peary, his speed should be compared with that of other explorers not with his own assertions, which

prove nothing. It is also obviously essential that marches should be compared only with marches, distances with distances, averages with averages, geographical miles with geographical miles, statute miles with statute miles, and conditions as far as possible, with like conditions. This is axiomatic; comparisons are otherwise valueless. To mix factors indiscriminately and skillfully, as is done in this letter, in reaching a conclusion is to mislead and not to enlighten.

It will be noticed that in order to lengthen the average miles of travel from Cape Columbia to the Bartlett Camp from 9.1 miles (the actual progress per day to that point) to 12.8 miles, Mr. Grosvenor by averaging the "marches," only counts the days on which Peary could advance and omits the days when he could not march. That is, when conditions of travel were such as to impede or interfere with progress during a march, their effects, as to reducing the distances made, were considered, but when delays were serious enough to prevent a march, they are omitted. The number of days it actually took to reach a point is not counted or mentioned. The object of this omission is obvious when it is remembered that when Peary had his supporting parties with him, breaking tracks, building igloos, etc., sometimes for five marches ahead, he nevertheless found many days when he was compelled to succumb to the inevitable and abandon a march, the universal experience in polar work. When, however, no white man, was with him, as a witness, and when he had no supporting parties to assist in overcoming obstacles, he reports that there were no more obstacles to overcome! He says he marched every day, to the Pole and back to Cape Columbia, over the identical route in the very tracks that caused such physical suffering on the way to the Bartlett Camp, and alleges that he did not miss a single march, (the only instance recorded in polar history) traveling at an average gait of 26.4 miles per day. Mr. Grosvenor's method of analysis makes it appear, that Peary with his supporting parties actually made better progress than 9.1 miles per day, which cannot be true, as has been shown in

previous pages. Mr. Grosvenor then compares these averages of "marches" outward, with average speed "per day", returning from the Pole to Cape Columbia (27.5), including all the days with the marches as Peary claims to have marched every day after leaving Bartlett Camp.* In this skillful but misleading manner of treating the subject, he apparently reduces the discrepancy in rates of speed made with the supporting parties, and those made without them. But even this erroneous comparison leaves the difference still over 100 per cent. Mr. Grosvenor offers no explanation to Congress for this discrepancy.

Mr. Grosvenor also makes the statement that several of the marches were 20 miles. There were just two marches of that length and no more. One of those was claimed to have been made on Bartlett's last day when it is alleged that he attempted by superhuman effort to reach the 88th parallel before turning back, with his light outfit breaking track ahead.

The other comparisons made by Grosvenor are still more misleading. Some of them are only assertions without data, and of course they cannot be checked. He says anyone who wishes can verify his figures, but he does not indicate how. Those statements that are accompanied with sufficient data for the purpose, have been looked up, but a separate review would be required for each reference to unsnarl the wretched tangle thoroughly. He uses marches in his description when apparently convenient, hours when more convenient. All of his comparisons are statute miles, compared with geographical miles; and without a single exception all the speeds are empty sledge trips over beaten tracks compared with Peary's travels on foot over polar ice floes with loaded sledges. These facts would appear to make it useless to consider these figures, but as they are part of a document supposed to be issued for purpose of enlightening Congress, reference will be made to several of

*Cyrus C. Adams, Editor of the American Geographic Society says in the *Review of Reviews*, Oct. 1909: "Sledge achievements on the frozen sea, should not be measured alone by the distance traveled per day when all conditions are favorable to rapid advance. The time lost at water leads and through deep snow, and other impediments, that reduce the rate of speed, should all be counted to make an average."

these passages as a sample of them all, in order to show the absurdity of their introduction, and to point out that there can be no truth to offer, else resort would not be made to such subterfuges.

In the sixth paragraph, Mr. Grosvenor refers to several trips between Cape Columbia and the Roosevelt, Cape Columbia to Heckla, Heckla to the *Roosevelt.* It should be observed that these are all marches eastward, and none westward. All are statute miles with empty sleds, on beaten tracks, and two of these marches are a part of this same expedition which is called in question. Not one of them a proper comparison. It is when Peary is alone that he goes so fast. His assertion without proof or witness, that he made 45 miles in a march between these points has no more value than his assertion that he made 58 miles per march from the Pole to the Bartlett Camp. Comparing Peary's claims in one place with his claims in another, is not evidence as to the truth of either.

Grosvenor says similar speed was made at another time. It must be understood that during the months when the *Roosevelt* was imprisoned in the ice, excursions were frequently made for exercise and training. The stores for the polar dash were during this time transported west from the *Roosevelt* to Cape Columbia, and for this purpose six depots 15 miles apart were established. The empty sledges returned east. What sport was indulged in on these return trips, what racing contests were enjoyed with fresh dogs, and what speed was reached can only be imagined. Mr. Grosvenor may have this information, but the public has not.

The closing paragraphs of his letter, all refer to journeys made by Peary on other expeditions. There is not one comparison with anyone else. Only one of them will be examined, because they are all of the same character as regards the basis of comparison. On page 304 "*Nearest the Pole,*"* Peary describes one of these trips referred to. He had learned of the desertion of one of his men on his arrival at camp. He writes:

*In 1906.

"Knowing it to be essential to prevent a recurrence of this kind, I pushed on to Cape Wilkes, camped and turned in after a *twenty-five hours day*, slept three hours, then started with empty sledge, eight picked dogs, and an Eskimo driver, to overtake my man." "He was found at Cape Louis Napoleon, and after receiving a lesson, was taken along with me to the ship." "The distance from Cape Wilkes to the *Windward* was sixty nautical miles in a straight line (as traveled by me along the ice-foot, and across the bays, not less than ninety statute miles) and was covered in 23 hours and 20 minutes or 21 hours 30 minutes actual traveling time" (equal to 3.8 statute miles per hour). Riding on an empty sled with 8 picked dogs and an Eskimo driver, in a race of 23½ hours after a deserter, is used to illustrate "one march" in a comparison with Peary's "days" over polar ice, on foot with loaded sledges, near the Pole. Besides it represents the actual statute miles traveled including detours and Peary estimates them to be 50 per cent. Such attempts at comparison clearly expose the writer to deception.

Is this comparison an honest one, even though it shows *less than one half* as fast traveling as Peary says he traveled near the Pole with loaded sledges? Is this a sincere endeavor on the part of the "most eminent scientists in America" to ascertain the truth of a mystery of world wide interest? No wonder they did not want their decision reviewed. What weight can anybody give to such comparisons?

Even this astounding announcement of Peary's claim does not tell everything by way of comparisons. He took the time on the first day out from the Pole while making a 78.4 miles march* to make a sounding 1500 fathoms (1¾ miles) and took 13 observations and many photographs. He did not do these things on that race from Cape Wilkes.

This defense, written by the editor of the Geographic Society, a committee of which passed on Peary's claims, and appearing as it does as part of a speech in Congress by the

*Group 8.

champion of Peary's cause, who fathered the bill for Peary, indicates that it contains all the evidence that can be offered. At any rate it gives all that is offered in defense of Peary's miraculous claims of speed on polar ice, which claims are unprecedented in enormity in the annals of arctic exploration. Fair minded men everywhere must conclude from this, that it is virtually an admission and a confession that no better defense can be made. The author, Mr. Grosvenor, will appear in another role farther on.*

There is no doubt that on the kaleidoscopic surface of the Polar Ocean, there are miles of comparatively smooth stretches over which a traveler, if he could avail himself of them could make rapid progress. But even if he could be there, and the smooth path lay in the right direction, he could not expect to make over 25 miles of latitude in 10 hours. Testimony is unanimous on this point. One could not reasonably expect that these smooth stretches would be frequent on the Polar Sea, and be contiguous and stationary. Such a condition is not characteristic of the Polar Sea in spring as it is unanimously described by explorers, including Peary himself in all his former writings. It is not even his description of the conditions on the present expedition in Chapter XXI.† No one, therefore, who accepts any available criterion can truthfully say that he believes that Peary found the conditions, and that he made the speed which in one part of his story he claims he did find and did make. It is most important for Peary to show how it was possible to so far exceed all former arctic travelers as regards speed and distance. Instead of attempting to supply this very essential information, he skips it as with a wave of a wand, like a magician, seemingly confident that amidst the skillful digressions it will be overlooked by the reader.

*I do not consider the pretense of evidence placed in the record by Mr. Englebright as worthy of mention. It is an attempted comparison of progress made by Peary across the polar sea, with heavily loaded clumsy sledges; with "dog races" in Alaska with picked dogs, empty sledges, over beaten tracks for short distances.

†*North Pole.*

All the evidence that I care to offer regarding Peary's claims for speed has now been presented. Peary's own statements have been shown to conflict, comparisons with other polar explorers have been made, charts based upon Peary's statements have been shown, and the narratives of his companions have been analyzed. It may not be considered courageous on the part of the author to leave the subject of speed without recording at least one version of what he believes the facts have established, and what conclusions are reached regarding them. What this analysis of speed presents is Peary's own showing, which if it indicates anything shows that Peary could not have made the speed and distances he professes to have made.

All Fools' day, 1909, marked the beginning of an epoch in arctic history. When Bartlett and Peary parted at the camp on the polar ice at 87° 47′ north latitude on April 1, 1909, numerous coincidences of momentous interest followed, which singularly date from that separation. Previous to that date, Bartlett by a superhuman effort, with a light sledge had attempted to make a record for speed and distance, and had succeeded on two days only in marking 20 miles to his credit. This record was to be immediately eclipsed. It was never again to equal even the *average* mark. At the end of that day the north winds subsided. They had finished their task of crushing back and compacting the ice floes. The cutting blasts similar to those that kept the party in camp so many days in 1906 ceased on April 1. Thereafter all winds coincided with other conditions and were always fair winds. This camp was the line of demarkation on that sea and in history. The ice which had been driven south 12 miles by the gales fortunately caused no obstructing pressure ridges north of that camp or opened any water spaces to cross. The sledges which had been wrecked and patched daily almost beyond recognition from the first day out, were now made secure and strong, never again to cause trouble. No one in the long list of polar explorers who preceded Peary ever discovered anything that in the slightest

degree indicated such an astounding number of coincidences as centered around All Fools' Day, 1909. This is only candid recognition of facts which are obvious when the tale is examined. The claims, the conditions, the speed, the accomplishments, are absolutely impossible. The story of speed must be declared untrue. If anyone could be willing to admit that he believes these representations of Peary's, what could he say against the comparatively modest claims of Cook?

The fact being known from this analysis of speed only, that the whole story is a creation, and that the alleged conditions and marches are fabrications furnishes a positive clue early in this review, that is a direct guide to other facts equally significant. If these marches were never made, it follows as a self-evident truth, that all descriptions of the alleged visit to the Pole are equally concoctions which must be detected and exposed.

Setting aside all considerations of speed, therefore, we shall, before passing final judgment upon Peary's claims, investigate from several different angles his statements of his alleged trip to the Pole.

CHAPTER IV

PEARY DISCREDITS HIS OWN STORY

If the length of marches and rates of speed alleged to have been made during Peary's absence from the Bartlett Camp were impossible, then it follows that he did not go to the North Pole. There are, in fact, many indications that Peary never expected to go there. His dismissal of all his white supporters and his lack of efficient equipment and organization indicate it. He does not tell the items of his sledge loads,—these items, if known, might reveal his intentions. It is evident that he carried much useless luggage, and many luxuries unnecessary for one endeavoring to succeed in a superhuman struggle, and that he neglected to carry such essentials as a chart, a boat, nautical instruments and cooking apparatus for the supporting parties. He contends that the samples of earth said to have been brought up from the bottom by Marvin's soundings were obtained in the interest of science. Surely, if they had been considered of any value for that purpose, they would have been sent back by Borup as a matter of ordinary prudence, not uselessly carried north over the drifting ice with the expedition, and then lost. The tenor of these things indicates to a close observer that Peary had no intention of attempting a journey any great distance north and certainly had no intention of reaching the North Pole on this particular trip.

It is interesting to examine the remarkable "system" upon which great stress has been laid by Peary's friends. Mr. Roberts vainly endeavored during the Congressional investigation to discover what constituted a load of a sledge. Peary did not even know the weight of the sleds or the weight of the load on any one of them. Nansen gives in fractions of ounces the

weights of dogs, sleds, and cargoes; he named each dog, and as each one died or was killed it was recorded by name. Amundsen and Scott also had a completely organized business system, as all other arctic or antarctic explorers have had. Peary does not even tell whether or not he had a sextant or a compass. Possibly one of the reasons why Peary does not give an inventory of his loads is innocently divulged by Henson, who says that one of the sleds was fur-lined and that Peary rode on it during the entire journey. Every picture that Henson exhibited in his lectures showed Peary seated on this fur-lined sled, the only item of the cargo.

Peary had about the clumsiest sleds that could be devised. They were made by Henson of solid planks, like Mexican cart wheels. No one in civilization doing any kind of snow work would think of using such a crude device even temporarily. Any person in a logging camp where lumber is abundant would be considered incompetent who would make use of one of the "Peary" sledges, yet Peary's dogs were compelled to haul those immense weights of dead and worse than useless lumber. Borup says the sleds went to pieces the first day out, and some had to be condemned immediately, to repair others.

Cook's sledges and those of similar construction used by Nansen, Shackleton, Scott and Amundsen, are evidence enough in themselves that these explorers intended to get somewhere with them. Amundsen says his sledges would stand any kind of usage; he mentions no repairing on his trip. Amundsen's sledges weighed 53 lbs., and carried loads of 880 lbs. Peary's sledges weighed by estimate 85 to 95 lbs., and carried loads of about 500 lbs., *but were daily wrecked. The clumsy improvised contraptions used by Peary† and named after him to give them some credit, sledges which tumbled to pieces before they had gone 4 miles, sledges which Henson says were daily thereafter being patched and condemned, are quite conclusive evidence that the user of them never intended to go very far

**A Tenderfoot with Peary*, Page 144.

†Shown in *North Pole*, Page 123.

from land. He could not have attained his goal so hampered. No prudent man would risk it.

When one reads Amundsen's book, and notes his wonderful organization, the thoroughness of his preparations, and how he appeared to have foreseen every contingency, one concludes even before he started south that no matter what natural obstructions he met, unless some unavoidable accident took his life, that he would reach the Pole. It was a victory before he had marched a mile, because it was a victory of human mind. But Amundsen's success was no more manifest to any intelligent person than it is apparent, that the hap-hazard methods of Peary, the slovenly unsystematic organization that he instituted, are proof of its fraudulent purpose.

It may seem strange but the truth is, that in the "Peary System" of ice sledging, no provision whatever was made for crossing the sheets of open water which are well known difficulties of Polar Sea travel. After Peary had finished his description of ice conditions between land and the Pole, he writes as follows in the chapter on "Arctic Ice Sledging:"*

"The pressure ridges above described are not the worst features of the Arctic ice. Far more troublesome and dangerous are the leads. Sometimes these leads are mere cracks running through old floes in nearly a straight line. Sometimes they are zigzag lanes of water just wide enough to be impossible to cross. Sometimes they are rivers of open water from half a mile to two miles in width stretching east and west farther than the eye can see."

But his "system" provides no means of overcoming these obstacles. Further, he has not in all his writings shown a single instance where he crossed a sheet of water too wide to jump across. Had he encountered a wider stream going north, he could not have proceeded any farther. Had he come upon such a stream returning, his party would have perished.

Peary suggested "various ways" of crossing open water leads as follows:†

"There are various ways of crossing leads. One can go to

*_North Pole_ Pages 196-197.
†_North Pole_, Page 197.

the right or the left, with the idea of finding some place where the opposite edges of the ice are near enough together so that our long sledges can be bridged across. Or, if there are indications that the lead is closing, the traveler can wait until the ice comes quite together. If it is very cold, one may wait until the ice has formed thick enough to bear the loaded sledges going at full speed. Or one may search for a cake of ice or hack out a cake with pickaxes, which can be used as a ferryboat on which to transport the sledges and teams across."

Further on he describes an "ice cake ferry" as follows:*

"Getting the last sledge over caused a delay of a few hours, as we had to cut an ice raft with pickaxes to ferry the sledge, dogs, and Eskimo driver across. This impromptu ferryboat was cut on our side and was moved across the lead by means of two coils of rope fastened together and stretching from side to side. When the cake was ready, two of my Eskimos got on it, we threw the line across to the Eskimo on the other side, the Eskimos on the ice raft took hold of the rope, the Eskimos on either shore held the ends, and the raft was pulled over. Then the dogs and sledge and the three Eskimos took their place on the ice cake, and we hauled them over to our side."

These descriptions are interesting, but how did the Eskimos get on the other side to catch the rope? The processes seem quite ingenious and effective, but not one suggestion is made of how to cross an open lead too wide to jump across. The fact is that he could not have crossed his expedition over such an obstruction, because the "Peary System" did not include any method. He could go as far as solid ice was found, but no farther. He made no provision for going any farther. This omission naturally indicates that he never intended going any farther.

It is to be noticed that among the "various ways of crossing" no mention is made of a boat, an article which every other traveler on the Polar Sea has considered an essential part of his equipment. In fact neither Nansen nor Cook could have returned without one. A boat would seem to be the first method to be considered for crossing open water. Even savages use boats, yet such a conveyance is omitted in Peary's suggestions of "various ways of crossing a lead." He says that he

*Page 250.

relied upon rafting across the various open water leads on cakes of ice. But he makes no detailed description of how this method of water transportation is possible. Ferrying would be impracticable. One would first need to find a cake of ice of suitable size and shape to accommodate at least a part of the expedition. This cake should be floating unmoved at the near bank of the stream, and when loaded start on its journey and be propelled across with a fair wind. But neither Peary, Borup, Bartlett, nor McMillan mention carrying a paddle or a sail. To travel without either of these propelling devices would seem like relying on some prehistoric way of navigation. Even then, if Peary should be confronted with the terrific easterly current in the open leads as Borup describes it, where a cake of ice is now in sight, but in fifteen minutes later has disappeared to the eastward, he would be hopelessly lost. Some detailed explanation of how such phenomena are to be overcome must be given before one can understand the logic of an explorer who would attempt to make northing over the Polar Sea without some kind of boat.

With such abundant evidence before us we could well afford to rest our case, but the force of the facts which have already been submitted is in no way disparaged by presenting other and even more convincing reasons for discrediting Peary's story. There are traces of a studied plan running through his narrative, which shall leave no positive data behind that can ever be checked against him.

As far north as the Bartlett Camp, Peary's story is in no way unusual, but immediately after Peary sets out for the Pole, with only Henson and four Eskimos as witnesses, his whole attitude changes. His speed increases, conditions are ideal, and there is even an impression of subtle superficiality in his style which is soon intensified into actual suspicion as the tale unfolds. One reading this part of Peary's story can hardly restrain the thought, that when Peary had reached the alleged Bartlett Camp he purposely planned to be rid of Bartlett, that the story thereafter might be shaped without interference, and might

depend upon the memory of no one but himself. The fact that the greatest speed claimed by Peary was all made beyond the point where Bartlett turned back, strengthens this opinion. Nowhere in Peary's published reports is there one positive record made during these 8 days that could be checked as evidence.

Suspicion grew into certainty when further examination brought to light the fact that Peary, standing alone at 87° 47′ outlined a new program for himself in which he prophesied the discovery of the North Pole, exactly as it later occurred. *He says at Bartlett Camp that he hopes and expects to reach the Pole in five marches and to arrive in time for "noon" observations. Before him lay the untrodden expanse of Arctic Sea 133 miles to the North Pole. What would be encountered, of course, he could not know. Over that great area of presumably frozen wilderness, no human being had ever passed. All things considered, Peary's vision is unequalled in exactness or in mightiness of grasp since the ancient sages, for according to his own story his trip took place exactly as he outlined it. Storms could have hindered his progress, but they didn't; the traveling was better on the first day than ever before, and improved all the way to the Pole; the sledges did not break; the dogs did not sicken or die; he did not encounter open leads; pressure ridges were easy negotiations. He presumes to have foreseen that in five marches (each unparalleled in length in arctic history) he could cover the distance to the Pole and arrive just before noon in time for an immediate observation. What he did from that day forth, where he went, the direction he took, no living man can know.

It was not the smooth ice in sight that prompted this vision for he says† of the conditions at that camp, (87° 47′): "The floes were large and old, hard and clear, and were surrounded by pressure ridges some of which were almost stupendous." Even if the surface outlook had been favorable as far as he

*_Outlook_ Sept. 18, 1909. Page 101.
†_Outlook_ Sept. 18, 1909, Page 99.

could have seen, it would not have been conclusive with him, because at the camp where Marvin turned back he writes:* "The condition at this camp and the apparently unbroken expanse of fairly level ice in every direction reminds me of Cagni's description of his farthest north, but I was not deceived by the apparently favorable outlook, for available conditions *never continue for any distance or any length of time in the Arctic.*" He did make this prophecy, however, and it assists us in the solution of other problems not otherwise easily disentangled.

To forecast a definite result in a story of this kind, and have the prediction proven true, entails much more planning than would at first appear. It includes the consideration of animal and human endurance, of traveling conditions, as well as of speed, weather and time. Peary mentions only the time the trip would consume, but he could not have calculated the time without considering the other elements involved. He predicted weather and ice conditions with as accurate a vision as he did time. He knew the probable ice conditions in polar seas, he had spent twenty-three years of his life battling with them, and had published many photographs; he was familiar with the writings of his predecessors, and had seen their pictures of polar conditions. He had just finished describing in his diary the conditions he had encountered from Cape Columbia to the Bartlett Camp where he then was. He knew and later proves that he knew, that no one could go from 87° 47′ to the North Pole in five days with such ice conditions as his party had so far encountered. But Peary says that he was able to fulfill his prophecy and reach the Pole in five days. He must, therefore, have known what the actual conditions ahead would be to enable him to make the trip in five marches unparalleled in length. He proved convincingly that he did know, if he speaks truth. He describes the daily conditions on this trip, and when he is through he shows how necessary these conditions were to success and to his story.

The first day out, as has been told, the going was "the best

**Outlook* Sept. 18, 1909, Page 97.

since leaving land;" the second day, after a little delay "same as day before;" the third "still better;" the fourth day "much better than any previous day," because a lead (which arctic writers including Henson, Bartlett and Peary himself say runs *east* and *west* in that region) happened on this day to run *north* and *south*, making a regular boulevard directly towards the Pole. The next morning at ten he is within three miles of the North Pole. This ends the journey, exactly to the hour, as predicted. How was it done?

The enormous physical and mental strain incident to such rapid travel as is related in the story, taking advantage, as he must, and of course, did, of such wonderfully favorable conditions practically used him up at the end of the 4th march. He collapsed at the end of the 5th march apparently right in his tracks, absolutely exhausted with jaded nerves, and muscles entirely expended. Although the Pole was only three miles ahead, he says:* "I was too weary to take the last few steps." It would seem impossible for any one to make the situation as he wished it to appear, at the end of that last march, clearer than he does. He shows plainly enough that dog muscles and human endurance had propelled the little expedition practically the last mile that it could go, even under those perfect traveling conditions. It follows then, that if Peary knew when at the Bartlett Camp, as he intimates he did; that he would reach the Pole in five marches; and knowing as he must have known what could be done under varying conditions, with such an expedition, he must have assumed to have known the conditions themselves, as one is a complement of the others. With less nerve, less energy, less endurance, dogs or sledges in poorer condition, the trip could not have been made in five marches. Neither could it have been made in five days, with that expedition if conditions had been less favorable. Peary needed all circumstances combined into one favorable whole to succeed. The story would have been incongruous had it not been so plotted. The five days and the conditions

**North Pole*, Page 287.

go together. Therefore, Peary must have measured all things in his vision. He included them all in this mighty mental grasp.

The fact that such conditions were so different from anything he had experienced from land to the Bartlett Camp, or from anything in his twenty-three years' previous experience, or in all history, and were withal alleged to have been so clearly foreseen, certainly stamps this part of the narrative as having been completely prearranged into a suitable story, or else marks Peary as a prodigy. In five days' time he proves his prophecy true, and writes out all the facts and events just as he says they afterwards occurred. Anyone can see that the prophecy and its fulfillment dovetail perfectly into each other. Peary's mind is obviously cast in a Shakesperian mould. His writings require re-reading, reading between the lines, studying, analyzing, before one can fathom the depth of his thought or realize the full scope of his intellect.

The prophecy formulated at Bartlett Camp is but a concluding paragraph, so to speak in a major prophecy. In order to get a proper view of the situation, and to realize the full scope of Peary's vision, we must go back in the record to Camp No. 7, (82 miles from land) where McMillan and Dr. Goodsell turned back. It was as far back as this camp at least, that Peary invented or first planned his quinary arrangement of marches to the Pole. Here is his program:*

"At the end of this march, on the evening of the 19th,† while the Eskimos were building the igloos, I outlined to the remaining members of my party, Bartlett, Marvin, Borup, and Henson, the program which I should endeavor to follow from that time on. At the end of the *next march* (which would be five marches from where McMillan and the doctor turned back)‡ Borup would return with three Eskimos, twenty dogs,

*Page 241.

†Camp 12.

‡Camp 13. This is an error, McMillan and the doctor turned back at Camp 7, Borup at 12 (not 13) Marvin at 17, Bartlett at 22, (see chart No. 3). To fully realize Peary's confusion and see that this program was an afterthought one should read Peary's testimony at Washington and the copy of this diary on this date (19th) pages 35 and 36. It is not thought pertinent to quote it here in the text while discussing prophecy.

and one sledge leaving the main party twelve men, ten sledges, and eighty dogs. Five marches farther on Marvin would return with two Eskimos, twenty dogs and one sledge, leaving the main party with nine men, seven sledges and sixty dogs. Five marches farther on Bartlett would return with two Eskimos, twenty dogs, and one sledge, leaving the main party, six men, forty dogs, and five sledges.* I hoped that with good weather, and the ice no worse than that which we had already encountered, Borup might get beyond 85°, Marvin beyond 86° and Bartlett beyond 87°. At the end of each five-march section I should send back the poorest dogs, the least effective Eskimos, and the worst damaged sledges. As will appear this program was carried out *without a hitch*, and the farthest of each division was even better than I had hoped. At this camp the supplies, equipment and personal gear of Borup and his Eskimos were left for them to pick up on their way home, thus avoiding the transportation of some two hundred and fifty pounds out and back over the next march."

This paragraph is not a complete outline of his "program," such is the handiwork of genius. It is but four-fifths of the "program," an outline to the Bartlett Camp only. To make the "program" complete in one announcement, he should have added what he did add later, that from Bartlett Camp onward with Henson and four Eskimos, Peary hoped to make the last five marches himself and reach the Pole April 6, just before "noon." This would make a complete program from Camp No. 7 to Camp No. 27 (Camp Jessup).

This method of announcing the program in installments, and digressing into faulty mathematics as to dogs, sledges, and camps, diverts the attention so that when the reader reaches the chapter with the second installment, the connection is so obscured, that it is apt to pass unnoticed. But with the whole program now before us we can observe the consummate skill with which Peary divides up the Polar Sea in true Caesarian style. He could not well have made these quinary divisions before he reached Camp No. 7 where McMillan and Dr. Goodsell turned back without having one additional supporting

*The necessity for this jumbled arithmetical explanation is not understood, it checks up with nothing.

party. He commences, therefore, at Camp 7, which for convenience will be called the McMillan Camp. There are, therefore, 20 camps beyond the McMillan Camp. There are four sledging parties left, *viz.*, Borup, Marvin, Bartlett and Peary. If each party makes five marches, and each march is the correct number of miles for the proper divisions, Peary would reach Camp Jessup at the end of the last march on April 6, before "noon." It was accomplished with a surprising exactitude, practically to the hour, and covered the exact number of miles. Prophesying correctly the conditions of the last five marches (from Bartlett Camp to Camp Jessup) was an easy task compared with the real prophecy of 20 marches from the McMillan Camp to Camp Jessup. Possibly the "program" was planned at Cape Columbia. But Peary did not outline it to the remaining members of his party until the evening of the 19th at Camp 12.

It does not seem to have bothered Peary in the least, to have clearly foreseen (as he must) the length of each of these 20 marches which varied from 6 to 36 miles of northing, or to have foreseen the lengths of the four quinary divisions, which varied from 54 to 134 miles of northing. This prediction looks more simple than it really is, when it is expressed in Peary's formula, which is that he hoped that "Borup might get beyond 85°, Marvin beyond 86°, and Bartlett beyond 87°." The impression thus created is that the quinary districts would be comparatively uniform in length and would each cover about one degree of latitude. The truth, however, is that the variation in lengths of marches was from 6 to 36 miles, and in the lengths of the quinary districts from 54 to 134 miles of latitude.* It would seem to have required omniscient powers to forecast so accurately these distances and dates. Especially to do it so precisely, as to have the four supporting parties divide the quinary districts and the time so that at the end of the last march, of the last district, after a probable journey of over 500

*Diagram 3.

miles of sledging, that the last mile of this deviating course would exactly exhaust the last particle of strength, and that an error of even one mile in the calculation of distance from Camp 7 to Camp 27, or a small error in estimating physical strength would have made a "hitch" in the "program" and a failure of the prediction.

It is a simple clerical matter for the analyzer sitting in a comfortable office and having Diagram 3 and Peary's narrative before him, to note the remarkable result said to have been accomplished by the "Peary System." It is perhaps hard for such an analyzer to give full credit to the towering genius of one who, standing upon the ice on March 19, 1909 at Camp 12 "while the Eskimos were building their igloos" could outline to his comrades such a comprehensive program. Nevertheless, we must deal in facts. When Peary was at Camp 7 where McMillan turned back and was confronted with the problem of reaching the North Pole, he had left the glacial fringe, had crossed the big lead, and was fairly out on the Polar Sea. The two known factors in the problem were, that he had four sledging parties at his disposal, and a distance in a straight line of 332 miles of unknown conditions between him and his destination. All else was unknown, and would be unknown at any time, to any one placed in like position.

If he had a sincere purpose to attempt to reach the North Pole he would, of course, adopt a system of procedure based on his long experience. But could any intellect, know the conditions that were to be met with on that journey into the unknown; the actual miles necessary to travel; the time required, the strength needed? Could any power save omnipotence, arrange definite or approximately definite stages for that journey? If there is any truth in Peary's narrative, if there is any one impression that he wishes to make more than another, it is that every effort was made, and every mile was covered in every march that was possible under the phenomenally favorable conditions which he says he found.

Borup's five marches advanced the expedition 54 miles of

latitude; Marvin's five, 75 miles; Bartlett's five, 60 miles; and Peary's five, completing the program, advanced the expedition 134 miles, a total of 332 miles of latitude, or the total distance between land and the Pole (less the 82 miles, which had already been traversed with McMillan). Why did the expedition move only 6 miles north from Camp 8 to Camp 9, and only 6 miles north from Camp 9 to Camp 10? The answer is that the CONDITIONS PREVENTED it from doing more. Why could Peary in one march from Camp 25 to Camp 26 make 28 miles and from Camp 26 to Camp 27 in one march make 36 miles? His answer, is that the CONDITIONS PERMITTED IT. It follows then that the unknown CONDITIONS determine the length of the marches. Could human intellect foresee these conditions? Without foreseeing them, it would be impossible for sane human intelligence, to intimate that over those unknown conditions it could plan 20 marches, varying in northing from 6 to 36 miles, that it could divide these twenty marches into five quinary districts each varying in length from 54 to 134 miles of northing, and arrive at Camp Jessup at the exact time predicted at the moment that physical strength had reached its limit; when it had been strained to accomplish the last mile of possible advance. If any one member of the four parties had sprained an ankle; if a sledge runner had broken; or if one of the hundreds of pressure ridges had been a little too high for ready scaling; or if any accident had detained the expedition a few hours, a new program would have been necessary to fit the case. But Peary's gift of prophecy was all inclusive.

There is another program and another prediction covering the return to land, but by circumlocution more deeply concealed than that of the outward march, requiring deeper digging to find it. The circumlocution, however, may be followed. In discussing drift, it was shown that every explorer on the Arctic Sea furnishes unimpeachable evidence that there is a general or standard drift of the ice floes over that ocean, and that north of Grant Land the general drift is to the East. In 1906 Peary

started north from Heckla claiming to have reached 87° 06′. In returning to land, the easterly current was so strong that he was obliged to land on the Greenland coast. In 1909 he sent an expedition under Borup and McMillan to deposit caches of provisions along the north coast of Grant Land and of Greenland some 400 miles, presumably in the event he should again encounter the same current. His narrative paradoxically indicates that in his final program he ignored this danger of an easterly current, anticipating an entirely different condition of affairs. He evidently assumed that there would be no easterly current this time to prevent his return from such distance as he intended to go. In a chapter entitled "Essentials of Success" Peary states that: "*To return by the same route followed on the upward march, using the beaten trail, and the already constructed igloos to save the time and strength that would have been expended in constructing new igloos and in trail breaking,*" is one reason for his success. He assumed he could make a direct march north on the 70th meridian from Cape Columbia to the North Pole, and return to Cape Columbia in the trail so made, and he alleged that he actually accomplished this feat covering 840 miles of latitude (out and back) landing at the same spot from which he started, not being drifted from his course a single mile. He claims that his 20 years' of arctic experience account for his ability to plan things so thoroughly. Did he do it? Could he do it?

The following quotation gives an outline of his "*plan:*"* (Not the "program")

"Early in May, 1908 in a published statement I sketched the following plan: Second, leaving the land, my course will be more west of north than before, in order to counteract or allow for the *easterly set of the ice* between the north coast of Grant Land and the Pole, discovered, on my last expedition. On the return march in the next expedition I shall probably do voluntarily what I did involuntarily last time, that is, retreat upon the north coast of Greenland (a course diagonally *with* the set of the ice) in-

*From Chapter 1 of his book..

stead of attempting to come back to the north coast of "Grant Land," (diagonally *against* the set of the ice). An adjunct of this *program* will probably be the establishment of a depot, well up the north coast of Greenland by the first of the supporting parties returning to the ship." . . . "The details of this plan have been here set forth so explicitly because the faithfulness with which they were carried out constitutes a record which is perhaps unique in the annals of Arctic exploration. Compare this scheme if you please, with the manner of its execution. It will be noted in this comparison, that practically the only feature of the plan from which essential deviation was made was in returning to Cape Columbia on the coast of Grant Land instead of further eastward to the northern coast of Greenland as I had done in 1906. THIS CHANGE WAS MADE FOR EXCELLENT REASONS WHICH WILL BE MADE CLEAR IN THEIR PROPER PLACE."

I have capitalized the last sentence because it is so wantonly misleading. These excellent reasons have never been given. A careful search fails to find them anywhere between the covers of his book, or to find elsewhere, that they have been "made clear" or to locate that "proper place." I can imagine no valid reasons, that could possibly be given "excellent" or otherwise, for such a rude departure from a scientific plan.

Cape Morris Jessup on the Greenland Coast is 32 miles nearer the Pole than is Cape Columbia, but Peary did not choose that point because it is too far east. He evidently did not wish to take the risk of being drifted toward Spitzbergen by the easterly current. He wisely chose Cape Columbia some 400 miles further west than Cape Jessup. Borup and McMillan "established depots" along this northern coast, apparently a prudent and businesslike precaution. One going north over ice fields that are known to be drifting to the east, could not reach the North Pole unless he shaped his course to the west of north, to counteract or to allow for this drift. He must frequently ascertain his exact position in order to know the extent of this drift, otherwise he could not know how to shape his next course. Neither could he rely with any degree of certainty upon returning to any definite point on the land, unless he adopted a similar course and similar methods on his return.

Borup and McMillan established these depots AFTER THEY HAD LEFT PEARY AT CAMP NO. 12 OUT ON THE POLAR SEA. It, therefore, appears that Peary considered these precautionary measures prudent up to the time at least that Borup and Goodsell turned back, even though he should go no farther north than that camp. Notwithstanding this fact he says he outlined the "*program*" of the quinary districts "to Borup and the leaders of his party," on March 19, at Camp No. 12 which program it will be noticed included a straight line march to the Pole.

Peary must, therefore, have been operating simultaneously under two diametrically opposing programs. In one of them he was providing for a known easterly drift. This is without doubt sound reasoning. In the other he assumed to know that there is no such drift, and so confident was he (the story runs), that he did not take a single observation to ascertain his longitude, in order to know whether or not there was a drift. Nevertheless, he says that he steered straight north and straight back. The second plan or "program" seems to be a monstrous absurdity.

Peary did know there was an easterly current for he encountered it on the way to this very Camp No. 12. If Borup writes truly this easterly drift was quite terrific. On March 5, he was waiting on the south side of one of the leads for an opportunity to cross and describes the scene as follows:* "The ice on the far side of the lead was drifting steadily eastward, although there was no wind, etc." On March 7, he writes again:† "The lead was still going apart. The sea ice was drifting eastward so fast that floe bergs we'd marked out were out of sight in a couple of hours. The Lord only knew where the trail was. We didn't." Again under same date on same page he further says: "Even if we could cross the lead, we did not know whether we could recover the trail. With the easterly drift of the ice, we didn't know but what the trail was somewhere

**Tenderfoot with Peary*, Page 160.
†*Tenderfoot with Peary*, Page 162.

off Cape Colan, thirty miles away." In the face of such conditions as this, Peary writes a story, that he outlined a program of quinary marches and carried it out in a manner "unique in polar work" by marching to the North Pole, back to land at the point from which he started "in the tracks of the outward march."

This is as unskillful as it is audacious. Even fiction loses its interest when it is manifestly absurd. Peary knew when he promised to give reasons that he had given none. He can give none. But by this subterfuge about postponement, he temporarily at least evaded the issue. In the absence of any later information from Peary, it is permissible to give our own explanation of the truth. To travel over moving ice in a straight line between two fixed points, and then return to the starting point in the same tracks is as impossible a task for a natural human being to perform, as it would be for him to make the journey beneath the ice. Peary, by making this feat an "essential of success," risks contradicting himself in order to shut out all future explorers from sharing the honors with him. Joshua had an important task to perform, needing light for his purpose, so the sun and moon stood still until he had finished. But the effect so far as I have read, was local. Yet Joshua's comparatively modest claims have stood unmatched against the world for centuries, until now a greater than Joshua is born, whose claims are in substance that the North Polar Sea stood still for 54 days (thereby interrupting the movements of all the ocean currents on the globe), letting him pass over, out and back in an air line distance of over 862 nautical miles, without this ice stirring an inch.

Let us get the facts. Peary does not say in his "plan" that he would "retreat upon the north coast of Greenland a course diagonally with the set of the ice," but says "I shall probably do voluntarily what I did involuntarily last time." That word "probably" permitted him to change his mind and his plan, as he naturally would if he could make an improvement He could easily abandon his former purpose to retreat upon the

north coast of Greenland (a course diagonally with the set of the ice), but how could he possibly "come back to the north coast of Grant Land" and escape the necessity of shaping his course "diagonally against the set of the ice?" This is a point that will need to be "made clear" by most "excellent reasons" before it can be understood by ordinary minds.

River driving of saw logs is skillful work. Some of the expert log riders perform marvelous feats on rapidly moving logs in angry currents. Suppose for illustration that we select a river a few hundred yards wide filled with slowly moving saw logs, slightly covered with snow. From a fixed point on one side of the stream an expert log rider starts to cross on the logs in a straight line to a fixed point on the opposite bank. With lightning rapidity he alternately selects his footing, and keeps in view his goal. He must, in order to "counteract the set" of the logs down stream, shape a course deviating slightly up stream, above his goal. The extent of this deviation depends first: upon the swiftness of the current (or the moving logs) and second: on his proximity to his goal. He changes this deviation gradually as he proceeds. Could this expert make a straight course over these snow covered logs, leaving his foot prints in a straight line? Possibly he could himself travel in a straight line, but it must be admitted, that it would test his skill. But what becomes of his tracks? The feat, however, is not yet fully performed. He must return in the same manner, in the same straight line, in the tracks already made, to the starting point. Can he do that? When he returns, he must as in the first crossing deviate his course slightly up stream to counteract the set of the logs down stream in order to make a straight line course to his goal, and he must continually (as before explained) change this deviation as he progresses. But where are the tracks in the snow which he made in the first crossing? Have they not floated on down the river?

Extend the illustration and imagine a wider stream filled not only with moving logs but with high ridged log jams, ruct his view of his goal and over all of which he

must climb, and still keep his straight line to his destination; still keep on his meridian, not knowing his longitude or his lateral drift. Could any expert in the world do that? One more extension: This river is 413 miles wide. These log jams are, some of them, "50 to 100 feet high, one after another, in endless succession" leaving "no smooth and very little level surface between." Suppose that this surface before him is "of almost unimaginable unevenness and roughness," "over which he must go as over a series of hills," that they are in fact "mountains of log jams," "over which he must journey with a heavy load." But suppose these log jams on this wide river, in this uneven manner "are not the worst feature." Suppose that "far more troublesome and dangerous are the leads over which he must raft himself" on his logs? Could this champion so shape his course against the set of the logs down stream, across such a wide river as this, not seeing his goal once during the journey, not knowing the extent of this "set" not knowing where he actually was on a single day, and still make a straight line across this stream to his goal? And could he shape his return course against the set of the logs, and in the tracks of the first crossing? If he could not do this, he is, according to Peary shut out forever from North Pole honors. He is no longer a champion, there is a greater than he.

A tight rope walker who could stretch his line across the Arctic Sea with one end fastened to the North Pole, and the other end to the cliffs of Cape Columbia, could not make a much more direct route out and back than Peary indicates he did with his dog teams, without knowing on a single day, the deviation of his compass, the drift of the ice, or the longitude on which he camped. Do you think he did it? Could he possibly have done it? Did Nature relax her laws? Did the winds and tides no longer exert force? Did the "set" of the ice floes cease? Did the ocean currents stop? Did the icy covering of the Arctic Sea stand still? Did the motionless, beveled surfaces of the pressure ridges, become level and smooth, and so remain for 54 days, permitting this chosen band to pass out and back without distress, disturbance, or delay?

This plan of returning in the tracks of the outward march seems so elementary, and so obviously wise, that if it were practicable, it is strange that it escaped the observation of other explorers, especially of Cagni and of Nansen. The latter had only 129 miles to reach his ship. Peary had 413 to land. As a matter of fact any argument about this italicized essential is superfluous. Pre-supposing a return over the tracks of the outward march on the Polar Sea is taking for granted a condition of practically still ice, all the way. This supposition makes the trip nothing more nor less than a trip over solid land, and presupposes an entirely different plan from that alleged to have been made and followed. It presupposes a revolution of previous theories of arctic travel. It should not, therefore, be treated seriously in connection with a narrative which is based wholly on alleged conditions which are from beginning to end incompatible with such a theory. The force of these obvious facts is irresistible. The fallacy which they establish and expose is undeniable.

Roald Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole, proposes to avail himself of this well known current and enter the ice pack with his ship *Fram* north of Behring Strait in 1916, hoping thereby to drift across the North Pole or near it, knowing from his own observations in his remarkable experience in the north polar sea that this easterly current exists. His chief problem appears to be to enter the ice pack as far north as possible and on a suitable meridian for the drift to carry him to the vicinity of the North Pole. If Amundsen lives to make this passage safely, there is scarcely a doubt that he will visit the North Pole.* Should he cross the alleged path of Peary he will report the extent of the spring current which Peary judiciously avoided. This will add other, although unnecessary, evidence of the impossibility of Peary's "returning in the tracks of the outward march."

When Amundsen was traveling over the ice barrier on his journey to the South Pole where the surface was level and

*Since this was written, Amundsen has somewhat changed his plans.

smooth and still, and also on the plateau near the Pole both of which surfaces he describes as perfect conditions, he adopted the following method. One man on skis acted as forerunner, his tracks marking the path for the four sledge teams which followed. Each sledge had a compass, but the man on the leading team gave the course. It was the steering team. The others were checks on the steering team. The driver of the steering team kept right over his compass calling constantly to the forerunner on the ski "a little to the right," "a little to the left" and so on all the time they were on the march. The compass variation was ascertained at every observation, and observations were taken every day the sun was out.

Yet in spite of this remarkable thoroughness, it was impossible to travel in a straight line. One of the fore-runners was prone to turn to the right, and Amundsen says that if he were left to himself without directions from the steerer, he would soon make a complete circle. He writes, "None of us—no matter who he may be—can keep in a straight line when he has no marks to follow." Amundsen established a depot on every degree of latitude. Between these depots, about 2¾ miles apart, he erected altogether 150 snow beacons, 6 feet high. He also erected many bamboo stakes between these. In several places along the route he erected what may be called a fence; a row of stakes at right angles to his route, 5½ miles on each side of his path. Each stake carried a flag and each stake was numbered. If he varied from his true route on his return as much as 5½ miles, either to the right or to the left, or 11 miles of a swing, he would yet strike the outer post. Such were the extraordinary precautions made for finding his way back to his various depots on level surfaces. Yet notwithstanding this precaution he experienced great difficulty on his return, in finding them all. In fact, during a snow storm he passed one of them, and later when he had ascertained his true location he found that the depot was 15 miles from where he stood. Peary says, that the principal "essential of success" for anyone "who wishes to reach the North Pole and return alive," is "to return

in the tracks of the outward march." If this rule had been an "*essential*" to the discovery of the South Pole, even though on land, Amundsen with all his care, would have missed many of his depots, and history might have lost its most wonderful explorer. In view of the known facts, therefore, it is impossible to put much confidence in Peary's plan of return.

For purposes of illustration, it will be assumed that Peary did go to the Pole, and that the camps shown on Chart No. 3 from Camp No. 7 (McMillan Camp) to Camp No. 27 (Camp Jessup) are genuine, that the expedition actually built igloos, and rested at each of them, and that Peary really performed all the miracles that he has so ingeniously wrought into his story. Under this assumption we shall now return to Camp No. 7 where on March 15, at latest, Peary is supposed to have formulated the "program" which he "outlined" on the 19th to the remaining members of his party. Let us X-Ray this transaction. Peary as is frequently shown in these pages seems possessed of a dual character, representing to a peculiar degree, that "strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." It was Dr. Jekyll who formulated the "*plan.*" It was Mr. Hyde who outlined the "*program.*" Both started north the same day (March 1, 1909) from Cape Columbia for the North Pole.

Dr. Jekyll's plan is scientific. It is in substance to scatter depots of provision along the coasts of Grant Land and Greenland, some 400 miles in extent, to be used on the return trip in case the easterly current should drive him to those shores. In order to keep on the 70th meridian he intended to shape his course to the west of north so as to counteract the force of the easterly current. If his northing were equal to his easting, his course would be due northwest. This would keep him on the 70th meridian, and his progress would then be toward the North Pole. If his northing should be less than his easting his course would be more to the west. If his northing should be more than his easting, his course would be more toward the north. Consequently his course would be varied from time to time as he ascertained his position, and learned the extent of

his northing and easting. After reaching the Pole and having the experience of speed and the easterly drift of the ice on the outward trip, he would have the choice of at least two methods for his return. He must, of course, by any method, start from a fixed point, the North Pole. But as it is but 413 miles from the Pole to land, and as the northern coast line is over 500 miles in extent, he would feel perfectly safe in reaching land somewhere, provided he made as much southing with his dog teams, as easting by the current. He could then choose his method of returning to land.

First: he might return on the 70th meridian by the identical method of the outward journey, straight back to Cape Columbia. He would in that event steer southwest, providing his experience so far indicated that his southing and his easting would be equal. But if he were delayed, or should make more rapid advance than he had calculated; or if the easterly current was more or less swift (depending on the wind), he would direct his course further west or further south, as he ascertained his position from time to time, and would thereby keep on his chosen 70th meridian, and land at Cape Columbia.

Second: he might start for land by first steering straight south, and let the current carry him where it would until he reached land; his actual path in this event would be "diagonally *with* the set of the ice," or diagonal to the 70th meridian. Such was Dr. Jekyll's "plan." Mr. Hyde's "program" is different. He is intuitively guided by something higher than science—something that governs science. His "program" is to steer due north on the 70th meridian to the North Pole, then to return on the same meridian, straight back to Cape Columbia "in the tracks of the outward march." Mr. Hyde's "program" strange to say turned out to be wiser than Dr. Jekyll's "plan." Mr. Hyde reached land safely to tell his tale of an accomplished miracle. What became of Dr. Jekyll and his rational plan is still mystery. History, therefore, in this strange event cannot be made to conform with facts because it has no alternative but to make its choice between miracle and mystery.

The paragraph purporting to outline a "program" contains other matters, aside from the program itself, which require attention. The digressions regarding men, dogs and sledges are contradictory and inaccurate. A statement as to the number of dogs in Borup's returning equipment is sufficient illustration to indicate the slip-shod and unreliable character of the narrative.

Peary says*	Borup returned with 20 dogs.
Peary says†	Borup returned with 16 dogs.
Peary says‡	Borup returned with 18 dogs.
Henson says**	Borup returned with 17 dogs.
Borup says***	Borup returned with 16 dogs.

Is this a record of actual facts? If so, how many dogs did Borup take with him on his return? What reliable information is conveyed to the public by these figures? What was the importance of such a detailed record, if it was guess work? The arithmetic as to dogs for the later divisions is just as conflicting. He says in the program on pages 241, 242 that Marvin was to return with 20 dogs, on page 253 he says he returned with 17 dogs. He says in his program that Bartlett was to return with 29 dogs, but on page 266 and again on page 268 he says he returned with 18 dogs and although they killed one dog, the dogs left for the Polar expedition remained at the program figure, 40. He appeared to have foreseen in his enumeration the number of dogs that would be killed all the way to the Bartlett Camp.

The number of sledges mentioned in the program is just as faulty. If Borup left 10 sledges for the main party, and Marvin took one, naturally 9 were left. But Peary says in his program

**North Pole*, Pages 241-243

†*North Pole*, Pages 241-243

‡Test Wash., D. C., Page 36

***Negro at the North Pole*, Page 117

****Tenderfoot with Peary*, Page 181

it was 7 and in the *Outlook** he says there were 10. Bartlett took one from this number of 9 which would leave 8. The program says 5. This statement may be answered by saying a sledge was abandoned at the Marvin Camp and perhaps others not mentioned. If so it would be easy to account for the figures. But the point is, how did Peary know these figures before the events occurred, and insert them in his program on a previous date (the 19th)? Is it so very important that the public should be accurately informed as to the status of those equipments returning—and of those remaining? If important, is the evidence clear or reliable as to the numbers of either dogs or sledges? Is not the evidence fairly clear by the very construction of the paragraph describing the program that these erroneous details are injected merely for the purpose of diverting attention from the impossible prediction which the paragraph starts out to make?

The description of the camps and of the quinary divisions also is unsatisfactory. Peary says in the "program:" "At the end of this march, on the evening of the 19th I outlined the program. At the end of the next march (which would be five marches from where MacMillan and the doctor turned back) Borup would return. At this camp the supplies, equipment and personal gear of Borup and his Eskimos, were left for them to pick up on their way home, thus avoiding the transportation of some two hundred and fifty pounds out and back over the next march." These words are as unreliable as the wind. The end of the next "march" would not be "five marches from where McMillan and the doctor turned back." It would be six. Neither was it where Borup "would return" or from where he did return. Borup turned back on the morning of the 20th, at the very camp where Peary then was assuming to be on March 19th, and at which camp he says he outlined his program (it was camp 12) not at the next camp beyond 13. This is proven by the "program" itself. Neither the marches nor the quinary

*Sept. 18, 1909, Page 96.

divisions will divide up in any other way than that which is shown on Diagram 3. McMillan turned back at Camp 7, Borup at 12, Marvin at 17, Bartlett at 22, Peary at 27. Each division after McMillan returned made five marches beyond the last returning party. This division of districts is the meat of the program. To include these divisions and to outline this prediction, was obviously the only object in stating it.

It can easily be seen that one could forget these details in a concocted program "outlined" after the events. But if Peary had actually been present and had written in his diary at the time these alleged facts occurred, he could not have been mistaken as to whether Borup turned back at that camp or made one more march. Neither could he have been mistaken as to whether he "left the supplies, equipment and personal gear of Borup and the Eskimos, to pick up on their way home." On the very next page after this program, writing from his diary on the 20th, appears this conflicting statement.* "In the morning Bartlett again took charge of the pioneer division, starting early with two Eskimos, sixteen dogs and two sledges. *Borup, a little later, with three Eskimos, sixteen dogs, and one sledge started on his return to the land.*" This was on the morning of the 20th. Henson says:† that Borup returned on the morning of the 20th. That he, Henson worked from 8 p. m. on the 19th to 2 a. m. of the 20th arranging the loads for Borup for an early start. Borup himself says‡ "March 20:" "This was my farthest north. Just as I left, the Captain with his division was starting on ahead to pioneer the road." If there is any truth in anything that has been written about this expedition, it is established beyond controversy, that Borup did not go beyond Camp 12. He arrived there on the evening of the 19th. It was the end of his journey north. The next morning, the 20th about 10 o'clock as Bartlett was starting north, Borup started south on his return to land. Yet notwithstanding this

**North Pole*, Page 243.
†*Negro at the North Pole*, Page 106.
‡*Tenderfoot with Peary*, Page 179.

evident fact, Peary a year afterwards, being then perfectly familiar with whatever was done, deliberately published in his book the "program" forgetting that it conflicts with another statement on the very next page.

Two years afterwards, in his testimony at Washington D. C.,* Peary introduced as evidence what he said was his diary, and read to the committee what he said was written on March 19. This alleged diary states that provisions were left at that camp for Borup to pick up on his return from the next march beyond. He then explained to the Congressional Committee why he left them at that camp. I can think of no excuse for this lapse, except that he may have rescinded his instructions to Borup. But Peary cannot offer this excuse because it was a year afterwards that he published it in his book, and two years after when he exhibited his alleged diary at Washington, and voluntarily verified this very item, when as a matter of fact it could not be true. It, therefore, would seem clear that this "program" is a creation, to fill a space in the story of an imaginary trip to the North Pole.

NOTE: W. N. Johnson of Chicago has published a booklet entitled "Did Commander Peary 'Achieve' the North Pole."

This booklet shows among many other inconsistencies and lapses on the part of Peary which I have not space to enumerate the following:—

Johnson's Book	Peary's Books	Peary's Conflicting Statements
Pg. 32	Pg. 7 Pg. 232 Pg. 235	Crossed 84th parallel March 18th Crossed 84th parallel March 11th Crossed 84th parallel March 14th
Pg. 33	Hampton's Sept. Pg. 293 North Pole Pg. 325	McMillan and Doctor reached the Roosevelt, March 25. McMillan and Doctor reached the Roosevelt, March 21.
Pg. 33	North Pole Pg. 193	Cape Columbia. Distant from Sheridan 90 mi.
Pg. 34 35	North Pole Pg. 326	Cape Columbia. Distant from Sheridan 73 mi.

*Test Page 35.

This program which Peary writes "was carried out without a hitch" has other "hitches" that may be named. Speed was comparatively a simple matter. If he was to be at the Bartlett Camp at 87° 47′ on April 1, and again at Cape Columbia on April 23, it was chiefly a question of mathematics how he should dispose of the time intervening between the 1st and the 23d, and cover 584 miles. He worked in with marvelous ingenuity about all that was at his disposal. A serious and apparent mistake in his planning was his oversight, as to proper division of time when he assumes he was at the Pole. As far as the time of the whole alleged trip is concerned, it will be noticed that he works in every day, does not lose two hours after leaving the Bartlett Camp until he reaches land again. Neither broken sledges, high winds, extreme cold, pressure ridges, or open leads delayed him. He uses all the time and marches every day, some days 18 hours. This is all anyone could do, but even by doing this, he must not only keep going every day, but he must cover enormous and unprecedented spaces in that time. Unfortunately doing this compels him to exceed greatly all records on land or sea. But Bartlett. Can Bartlett keep out of the way and at the same time keep on the ice? There is one way out of this, and possibly one way only. Bartlett must at times travel 40 hours at a stretch without sleep. He travels it, but the fact must be concealed in "marches." But now at an unpropitious moment comes the unsophisticated boy Borup, and in his anxiety to extol the great physical qualities of Bartlett tells that he "sometimes on his return marched 40 hours without sleep" and lets out the secret. Such close calculation of time has its pitfalls.

I have assumed it to be true that Peary went to the Pole, in order to show that even if true, his alleged program was impossible of execution by a finite being. But whether it could have been executed or not, if issued, there is abundant evidence that the two programs, one at Camp No. 12, and the other at Camp No. 22, making a major program, were myths and were never issued. The only point I have wished to make,

in this review, is what the truth shows, that the narrative is unreliable, unbelievable, and is unquestionably a creation. In view of the incongruities which have been shown, may it not reasonably be surmised that the predictions and programs may have been formulated after the imaginary facts had occurred?

Evidence is furnished by Henson's book* which further establishes the unreliability of Peary's narratives. It seems almost providential that it should have appeared in its present form in this corroborative way, further (though unconsciously) unfolding the real truth, as to the character of all these writings. Henson's early articles all bore evidence of candor. His descriptions of facts and events were interesting and intelligent. He furnished many pictures, and says he took over a hundred. They were clear, and graphically illustrated what he had written. In his book he omits all but one picture the "North Pole Camp." His book in fact overturns or withdraws practically all the original statements of fact in his early work, and for this reason sheds valuable light on this interesting exposè.

I shall not prolong this review by a detailed examination of Henson's book. It is sufficient to refer briefly to a few items only, although they are not of much importance in themselves, to show the unreliability and the worthlessness of Henson's narrative as a chronicle of actual events, and to show that its real object is to bolster up the fictitious statements of Peary.

In an article by Henson in the *Boston American*, July 17, 1910, he wrote that on the first day north from the Bartlett Camp (April 2) they traveled 20 miles. In his book, to make it agree with Peary's book with which it before differed, he says they "traveled on that day a full 25 miles." In the same article he says: speaking of the arrival at Camp Jessup, April 6: "*Lieutenant* Peary was the only surprised man. He, because of his crippled feet had ridden on the sledges the greater part of the journey up, as he did upon the return. Riding one cannot so well judge of distance traversed. He made no observa-

**A Negro at the Pole*, written after his reconciliation with Peary.

tions in the five days. We kept ahead or just out of his reach so that he might not load himself upon our sledges. He was heavy for the dogs to haul. We knew he could walk but little in rough ice. Only one of his little toes remained from that terrible frost of 1900. He was compelled to ride. Much of my work was ahead breaking the trail and caring for advance things."

Now read the book page 129: "From 87° 48′ north (Bartlett Camp) he (Peary) kept *in the lead* and did his work in such a way as to convince me that he was still *as good a man as he had ever been.* I do not believe he slept for one hour from April 2 until after he had loaded us up (at the Pole April 7) and ordered us to go back over our old trail." These quotations are sufficient to show that no value can be placed on such conflicting reports alleged to be records in a diary. Henson follows Peary's tactics and attempts to hide himself from his first statement, that his book may also conform to Peary's latest revised statement. But Henson, thereby convicts himself, as Peary did himself, of deliberate falsehood.

Henson eliminates from his book *every one* of the contradictory statements which we noted in the early part of Chapter III. Weather, going, ice, distances, hours of travel, observations, etc., are all changed; not to conform more perfectly to his diary, but contradicting his diary (if that reads as he said it did), to conform to Peary's fictitious story. It would be tedious now to indicate in detail the significance of all these changes. Those who wish, need only to read one article in the *World's Work* of April 1910 and the *Boston American*, July 17, 1910, then to read Henson's book to understand its thinly disguised purpose. There is nothing in the book but non-essentials. The culpability is obvious, and it is also obvious that the book is censored and dominated by the same interest as Peary's book *The North Pole.*

One fact, however, which Henson does inadvertently mention will be mentioned. It was obviously an oversight, which will require another edition of his book to correct. On

pages 134 and 135 he speaks of what was done on April 7 at the imaginary Camp Jessup. While this statement contradicts flatly every word uttered by Peary as to what he did and where he was on that day, no one will for that reason believe Henson because he also repudiates himself. Henson says Peary took the sun at 10:30 a. m., April 7, then took a nap, and asked not to be allowed to sleep over four hours, etc. Then read Peary's book of that day, the 7th, where he says that he arrived at the camp at 6 a. m., after being out all night on his alleged midnight trip into another hemisphere; took the sun at 6 a. m. and then immediately started off on another excursion eight miles out and back, not arriving in camp again until just in time to take a set of NOON observations, and did not sleep from 6 p. m. the day before, (the 6th of April) to 12 p. m. on the 7th. According, therefore, to Peary's narrative, he was out traveling, and was not within some eight miles of camp when Henson says all these (evidently concocted) minutely detailed events happened. This mistake cannot be said to be a typographical error in the date, for Henson was already on record as saying that the sun did not shine on the 6th, and that no observations were taken or could have been taken for that reason on that day.

Perhaps the most deplorable feature in this connection is, that it affects not only the citizens of the United States, who are now pensioning Peary for his perfidy, but also dims the glory of all Arctic explorers who are belittled by a comparison with these fictitious achievements.

CHAPTER V

SHADOWS

"The church says the earth is flat,
But I know that it is round, for I have
Seen the shadow on the moon, and I have
More faith in a shadow than in the church."—Magellan.

FURTHER evidence as to the veracity of Peary's story is contained in his photographs purporting to have been taken at the North Pole and entitled "The Four Directions From the Pole,"* views presumed to be approximating North, South, East and West. The points of the compass may be mentioned for the present description, as Camp Jessup is represented to be a few miles from the Pole.

It is impossible from any of his statements written or spoken to ascertain the precise hour when Peary took these photographs. Mr. Roberts endeavored to obtain this information from Peary in the hearing at Washington.†

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Captain, can you tell us about what time the photographs were made at or in the vicinity of the Pole, with relation to your arrival there?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Not precisely, no; the photographs were made at different times; as I had opportunity.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You arrived about noon time on the 6th of April?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'About ten o'clock.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Were any of them made that day?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I should say that they were.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Can you give us any idea whether they were made before you had made your astronomical observations or afterwards?'

**North Pole*, Opposite page 299, reproduced herewith.
†Page 126, Testimony.



LOOKING TOWARD CAPE CHELYUSKIN



LOOKING TOWARD SPITZBERGEN



LOOKING TOWARD CAPE COLUMBIA



LOOKING TOWARD BERING STRAIT

(The Four Directions from the Pole)

The shadows in these pictures cannot be brought out in a reproduction. The pictures are reproduced simply to show their nature. Reference must be made to the originals in Peary's book to clearly follow the argument. Reproduced from page 299 "*North Pole*" by R. E. Peary.

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I should say that some of those photographs were made in the evening'—

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Just one moment. You recall now that I am speaking of the four that were pointed out in the book;* those are the particular ones I am talking about. I wanted to identify those particular ones.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes. I can not say exactly when they were taken, but they were taken after 8 o'clock of the 6th; I can say that. I do not know that I can recall the precise time, other than to say that they were taken after 8 o'clock, because they were taken in sunlight.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'They were taken after 8 o'clock of the 6th?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'They were taken after 8 o'clock of the 6th.

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'In the morning?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'They were taken some time between 8 p. m. of the 6th and 4 p. m. of the 7th.'"

This testimony, it will be observed, is valueless for it is indefinite and the facts recited are self-evident. Peary had already stated that it was cloudy on the 6th and that the sun was obscured from 6 p. m. until 8 p. m., but that the sky then cleared and remained clear from that time until 4 p. m. on the 7th at which time he says he departed for the south. There was, therefore, no other time in his story when these photographs could have been taken but between those hours, 8 p. m. on the 6th and 4 p. m. on the 7th. It remains to be ascertained how much the interval between those hours can be reduced, in order to know about what time the pictures could have been taken.

At 8 p. m. on April 6, when the sun came out, Peary says he had left Camp Jessup two hours previous (6 p. m.), and was on his ten mile trip into the "other hemisphere." He did not return to Camp Jessup until 6 a. m. on the 7th; at which latter time and place, after taking a series of observations, he immediately started on the second trip of 8 miles out and back, returning to Camp Jessup *at noon, April 7.* Of this trip he says:† "Therefore, with a double team of dogs and a light sledge, I traveled directly toward the sun an estimated distance of eight miles. Again I returned to the camp in time for a final

*North Pole, Opposite page 299.

†North Pole, Page 290.

and completely satisfactory series of observations on April 7 at noon, Columbia Meridian time. These observations gave results essentially the same as those made at the same spot twenty-four hours before."* This accounts for the time up to and after noon April 7, when he had taken the alleged series of observations, and had finished the computations thereon.

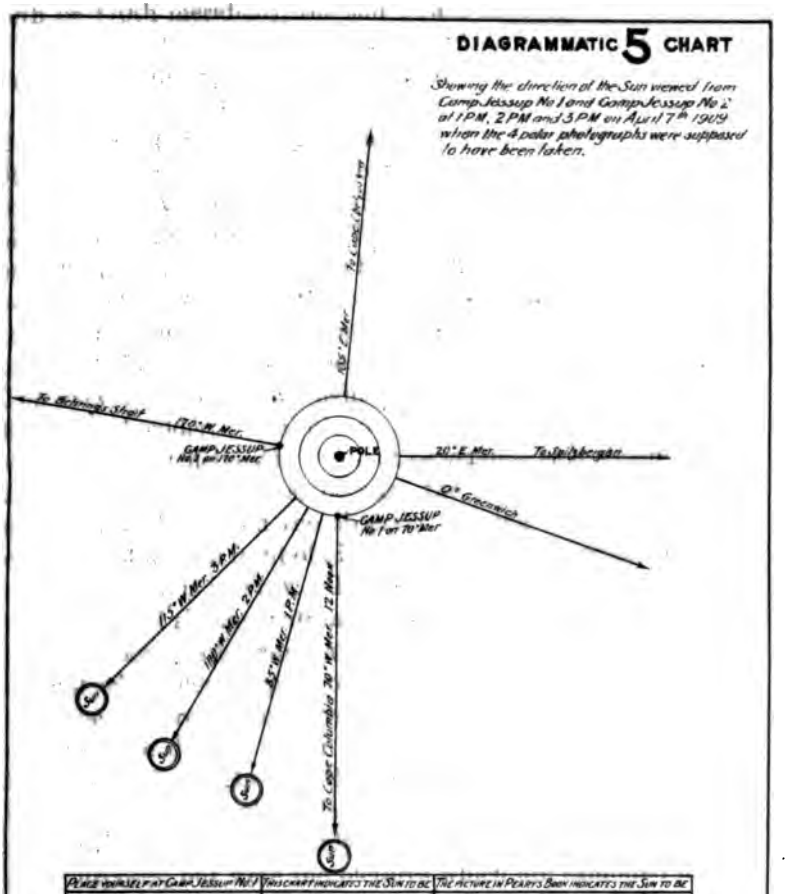
He then tells what he did in the remaining four hours:† "In the afternoon of the 7th, after flying our flags and TAKING OUR PHOTOGRAPHS, we went into our igloos and tried to sleep a little before starting south again." "About four o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th of April we turned our backs upon the Camp at the North Pole." We may suppose that he used the time between noon and 4 p. m. as follows: That he finished his series of observations and calculations at 1 p. m. then flew his flags and *took the photographs* until 3 p. m., then went into the igloos to sleep until 4 p. m. It is now quite clear that to correspond with his story, the photographs must have been taken, AFTER he had made his calculations from his "final and completely satisfactory series of observations on April 7, at noon Columbia Meridian time" or say after 1 p. m. and before 3 p. m. when he went into his igloo to sleep. At 4 p. m. he says he started south. The photographs then were taken perhaps between 1 p. m. and 3 p. m. This presumption is precise enough for present purposes.

The sun at 1 p. m. Columbian Meridian time April 7, was over the 85th meridian;‡ at 2 p. m. it was over the 100th meridian; at 3 p. m. it was over the 115th meridian. The alleged Camp Jessup was either on the 70th meridian or on the 170th meridian according to which of Peary's conflicting statements as to the location of the camp, is accepted. Either location will do for this illustration. Therefore, had he taken the picture "Toward Cape Columbia" between the hours of 1 and 3 p. m. April 7 and from the alleged Camp Jessup (either on the

*Viz. Lat. 89° 71′ Long. 70° West (Columbia Meridian.)
†*North Pole*, Page 300.
‡Diagram No. 5.

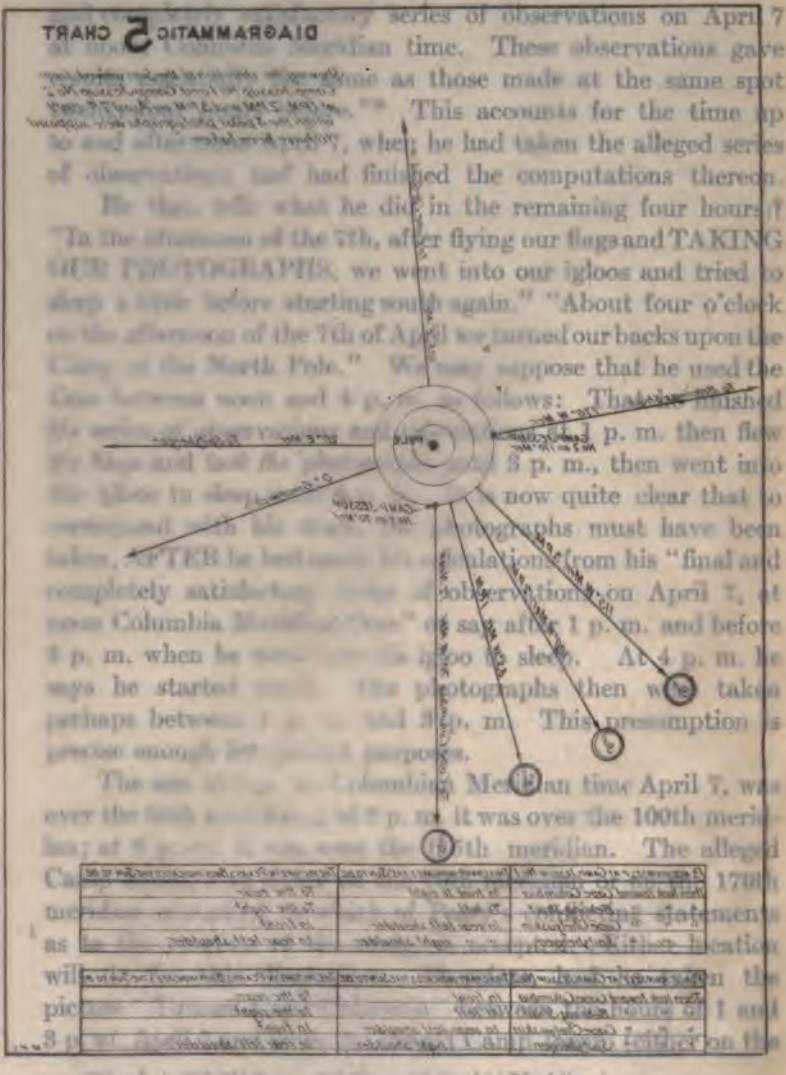
DIAGRAMMATIC 5 CHART

Showing the direction of the Sun viewed from Camp Jessup No 1 and Camp Jessup No 2 at 1 P.M., 2 P.M. and 3 P.M. on August 7th 1909 when the 4 polar photographs were supposed to have been taken.



PLACE YOURSELF AT CAMP JESSUP No 1	THIS CHART INDICATES THE SUN TO BE	THE PICTURE IN PEARY'S BOOK INDICATES THE SUN TO BE
Then look toward Cape Columbia	In front to right	To the rear
" " " Behring Strait	To left	To the right
" " " Cape Chelyuskin	In rear left shoulder	In front
" " " Spitzbergen	" " right shoulder	In rear left shoulder

PLACE YOURSELF AT CAMP JESSUP No 2	THIS CHART INDICATES THE SUN TO BE	THE PICTURE IN PEARY'S BOOK INDICATES THE SUN TO BE
Then look toward Cape Columbia	In front	To the rear
" " " Behring Strait	At left	To the right
" " " Cape Chelyuskin	In rear left shoulder	In front
" " " Spitzbergen	" " right shoulder	In rear left shoulder


DIAGRAMMATIC CHART

70th or 170th meridian), the sun would have been in front of him and slightly to the right. He would have been viewing the shadow side of objects. The sun, however, as shown in the picture was in the rear of the observer instead of in the front. If the picture purporting to be "Looking towards Behring Strait" was taken at any time between 1 a. m. and 3 p. m., the sun would have been shining from the left. The sun in the picture was to the right. The light side of objects (if any could have been shown) should have been on the left, and the shadows on the right. They are the reverse. The picture purporting to be "Looking Towards Spitzbergen" should show shadows cast by light coming from the rear and over the right shoulder. The view, however, shows light coming from the rear and over the left shoulder. The picture purporting to be "looking towards Cape Chelyuskin" cannot be genuine as it should show the light side of objects, because the sun would have been almost directly behind the observer, shining on his back and on all the objects in front of him. But in the picture the shadow side of objects is in view. The testimony, therefore, given by these truthful shadow witnesses is either that the titles accompanying these photographs are not genuine or that the pictures are not what they purport to be.

The pictures do not even appear to have all been taken on the same day or under the atmospheric conditions which Peary describes. He says the weather during the last twenty hours of his stay at the Pole was "clear and calm," "cloudless and flawless." This certainly makes ideal weather for observation purposes, but were the pictures which are exhibited in his book taken in such weather? Of the four pictures alleged to have been taken at the Pole only one "Toward Cape Chelyuskin" indicates a clear day. It is the only one of all his alleged polar pictures that shows a clear sky. As to calmness the same discrepancy exists. The flag at the summit, as shown opposite pages 285 and 291, is floating in a strong gale; but the flags in the pictures shown opposite pages 290 and 294 and 295, alleged to have been taken at the same time, hang limp in an evident

dead calm. These different conditions could, of course, exist between the taking of the different pictures; but nevertheless, they cannot be checked with Peary's description.

Peary's two facsimile observations* indicate that the altitude of the sun at Camp Jessup was 6° 19′ and 6° 47′, say 7 degrees. If he were near the Pole, this altitude of 7 degrees would be approximately correct and would be the altitude of the sun for practically all that day. It would make no difference in which direction he observed it, or at what time of day or night, Columbia Meridian time, Behring Strait time, local time, or any other time or on whatever meridian he observed it. It was 7 degrees and could have been nothing else. All the shadows cast on that day at that place were consequently 7 degree shadows. Artists may examine these pictures of Peary's and locate the directions of the light and the position of the sun. They will find, that not a single picture shows a 7 degree shadow. All the photographs indicate shadows ranging around 30 degrees. This would indicate that they were taken elsewhere in the arctic regions than at the Pole and perhaps at a different season. Diagram No. 8 shows shadows of both 7 degrees and 30 degrees.† It indicates the nature of every 7 degree shadow that should appear on Peary's pictures, where light and shade are noticeable. The only distinct photograph of those alleged to have been taken at the Pole is the one opposite page 299, "Looking towards Chelyuskin." One need not be an artist to see that these shadows are not 7 degrees but are more nearly 30 degrees.

Shadows are nature's witnesses. They never lie and they testify on other subjects besides that of altitudes. In all of Peary's pictures most of the shadows appear to be eliminated; but some of Henson's photographs display distinctly the shadows of the tall objects. Careful examination, however, is rewarded by the detection of tell tale shadows in Peary's pictures. In the views opposite pages 285, 290, 291, 294 more of the shadows seem to have been obliterated but by close examination

**North Pole*, Pages 292-3.

†Opposite Page 152.



EGINGWAH SEARCHING THE HORIZON FOR LAND



PEARY SEARCHING THE HORIZON FOR LAND

From Top of Pressure Ridge Back of Igloos at Camp Jessup

The shadows in these pictures cannot be brought out in a reproduction. The pictures are reproduced simply to show their nature. Reference must be made to the originals in Peary's book to clearly follow the argument. Reproduced from page 298 "*North Pole*" by R. E. Peary.

and by comparing with view chart No. 8 one can see that wherever the length of shadows can be discerned they are approximately 30 degree shadows. It is singular also that the short shadows on the fur clothing of the men are so distinct; but that on the snow little is seen of any shadows. Views said to have been taken many degrees south from the Pole throw distinct shadows. Some of the shadows in the pictures alleged to have been taken near the Pole, opposite pages 271 and 285, are quite distinct and are certainly of more than 7 degrees. Some shadows are distinct, others in the same picture are evidently obliterated or "doctored." If the sun in the picture "Toward Chelyuskin" were but 7 degrees high, its position would likely be indicated in the "sky" of the picture and by a shimmer on the surface of the ice and snow. The shadows in this picture although directly in front of the observer do not appear to be long enough for 7 degree shadows. Then too, the horizon in this picture is distinct enough for observation purposes without the necessity of resorting to an artificial horizon. The sun wherever this picture was taken, was evidently shining brightly. Why is the sky in all these four pictures, opposite page 299 cut so low? Why are these pictures chopped off so near the horizon? Why are they not extended a little higher up, so that they may show a little more of the polar sky? The pictures on the opposite side of the same leaf which signify nothing, are ample enough, high enough. Photographs taken at the North Pole are not so plentiful that they need be so scrimped for space, and made in ribbon form. A whole page displaying a photograph looking towards "Cape Chelyuskin" would be interesting if taken at the North Pole.

The sun in that picture (wherever it was taken) was almost directly in front of the observer. If taken at the North Pole the sun would have been in sight in the picture had the picture been extended upward a quarter of an inch more. The sun was less than 7 degrees above the horizon on April 6 and 7, 1909. There is nothing in the picture, however, to indicate that the sun is just clipped off. Neither the ice, the sky nor the dis-

cernible shadows indicate it. The novel sight of a North Pole picture showing the sun 7 degrees high would have been interesting enough to warrant displaying it. The combination would certainly have been striking and infinitely interesting, more so than anything else that appears in the picture. Why omit it?

No attempt will be made to prove in detail that the two pictures opposite page 298* are not genuine, that they were not taken at the North Pole. Nevertheless, comments may be made as to what they seem to indicate. The spyglass (or telescope) and the fur clad men, present indications that they were photographed in an artist's studio. The ice scenery may be artificial or may afterwards have been added thereto. It is believed that all the parts of that picture could not have been taken simultaneously, that they could not have been taken in the same light. For instance, the lines of the spyglass with the reflection of the light upon it and the fur clothing, are shown in such distinct and minute details that it would hardly seem possible that they could have been taken in the same light and at the same spot as the surrounding indistinct scenery. But of this one may form his own opinion. Further, it is not believed that Peary took a 3 or 4 foot spyglass out on the Polar Sea; the focus of which must be very carefully adjusted by telescoping it in freezing weather with fur clad hands. Spy-glasses have been practically out of use for 50 years or since the invention of marine glasses or binoculars. Peary does not mention that he took a spyglass. It would have seemed rather strange if Nansen or Amundsen had taken such an antiquated device as a spyglass for use on a sledging trip.

A marine artist who pretends to be an experienced seaman, but does not have the yards of his ship properly braced, or the sheets correctly trimmed, or the heeling of the decks suitable to the spread of canvas, could not deceive a practical sailor, who almost every hour, for years had been constantly watching, or adjusting these things to the varying winds. A sailor would

*North Pole.



VIEW (8) CHART

Fig 1 Illustrating the length of shadows when the sun is 7 degrees above the horizon.

Fig 1.



Fig 2 Illustrating the length of shadows when the sun is 30 degrees above the horizon.

Fig 2.

instantly discover the fraud. No one can be deceived by these fraudulent photographs. Anyone who views them can readily observe that they are the product of an artist.

Space cannot be given here to the details of shadows in these pictures; it is unnecessary and is not within the scope of this chapter. Anyone can examine them. The angle of the shadow of the man and the sledge in the center of the picture opposite page 285 is an illustration of what should be shown by all visible shadows. The purpose here is to emphasize the fact that much more significance is attached to the uniform obliteration of shadows in all the alleged North Pole pictures, which is so marked, than to the few remaining indistinctly seen. No candid person can truthfully say that he believes the picture fronting page 299 called "Looking towards Cape Chelyuskin" was taken at the same place, on the same day, as were the pictures "At the North Pole" fronting pages 290-291-294-298, because the surface of the ice, the atmosphere, the horizon, the sky, nature's witnesses, would instantly confront and belie him.

Whoever took, or whenever the picture "Looking toward Cape Chelyuskin" was taken, the conditions were favorable for a clear, distinct impression way to the horizon. Had the alleged North Pole igloo, the flags, the ice and peaks, and the caravan been in the front of the camera then and there, or had the Cape Chelyuskin picture been genuine, the observer could have stood a few feet farther back when he took that sight and have presented to the world today, and generations yet to be, a different impression of the alleged "Magic Point," "The goal of four centuries," than is effected by the blurred and manifestly patched up daubs presented.

It must be admitted that even though all the photographs had shown 7 degree shadows it would have proved nothing, as they could have been taken on any morning or evening anywhere when the sun was 7 degrees high. Nevertheless, confidence is always strengthened, when looked-for coincidences are found to sustain and support the allegations. But no one would submit false pictures in a case like this, if he had genuine ones.

These photographs were not, could not have been, taken at the North Pole on April 7, 1909, in the afternoon between 1 and 3 p. m. They are submitted by Peary as evidence to show that he was at the North Pole, and took them there. They are good evidence enough that he was not there. These shadow witnesses testify in unmistakable and unequivocal language, that they were cast elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI

PEARY'S ALLEGED OBSERVATIONS NEAR THE POLE

You who have faith prepare to test it now, while we consider Peary's alleged astronomical observations of the sun. We ourselves may err, but the sun whether it be altitude or azimuth is without variation, at the proper place, at the proper time. The ground on which we stood when considering ice conditions, time and speed, heaved and rocked beneath our feet like the thin ice of the newly frozen water leads. But now it instantly becomes steadfast, for we are dealing with nature's laws, which are as inexorable as fate or death, and swifter far than thought or justice. When Peary mentions the sun he must speak truth, his witnesses must speak truth, for the truth will search them out.

Peary knows this and he does not often allude to the sun. He allowed Marvin and Bartlett to take the sun, as long as they were with him "to save my eyes" he says, "for the polar observations."* If these early observations were wrong, it was, therefore, Bartlett or Marvin who was at fault. Peary's anxiety to save his eyes seems rather unnecessary. Sextants have movable glass shades of various colors, which hold the pictures of the sun regardless of its brilliancy and reduce the light so that there is practically no strain upon the eyes. Henson says of the sun in high northern latitudes,† "you can look directly at it without hurting the eyes, and there is no warmth in its rays." But Peary saves his eyes. He says that he personally took no observations on the whole journey from land out and back, except those which he alleges to have taken at Camp No. 26 and at the Pole, where he states that he made 13.

*Marvin took 2 observations and Bartlett 1, the only observations recorded to 87 degrees 47 minutes.

†*World's Work*, April 1910.

Peary publishes 7 pages of Marvin's computations which, having been taken so far south, are no evidence of Peary's reaching the Pole. He only gives facsimiles of two of his own observations, (April 6 and April 7 both at noon), both taken from the same spot. These refer solely to latitude, there is not a figure to show how he obtained his longitude. He does not publish a facsimile of the midnight latitude observation which he says he took in the eastern hemisphere. These sample facsimile observations, however, are significant for they do not correspond with his statements. The one taken on April 6 is intimated to be imperfect, and the other taken April 7 is declared by Peary's own witness, Mitchell, in the hearing at Washington, to be incorrect in azimuth alone by some 20 degrees.* These 13 alleged observations near the Pole, however, are the only facts that Peary can present as proofs of his claims for he saw no land and made no sounding. It would seem, therefore, that he would desire full publicity for them all if they were true in order to add weight to his allegations. With the information available, it is impossible to make a complete analysis. We can examine, however, Peary's statements and draw the only possible conclusion from them.

There are three things upon which a navigator relies when he is out of sight of land and soundings, namely his time pieces, his compass, and the sun. Peary says that his travels on the Arctic Sea were all on the 70th meridian west, that he did not leave that meridian except for slight necessary deviations, and excepting a few hours when he claims he was in the vicinity of the Pole. The 70th meridian runs through Cape Columbia, his point of departure from land. Therefore, the 70th meridian is designated by him as Cape Columbia Meridian, or "Columbia Meridian." Peary's time pieces had been set to Columbia Meridian time. That is, when it was local noon on the Columbia Meridian, it was 12 o'clock by his watches, if they kept correct time. It will, therefore, be understood that if he traveled directly north he would keep on that meridian (70

degrees west longitude) and every day when the sun reached its highest altitude at noon, his watches would show 12 o'clock. He indicates that he used no other clock time on his whole journey, but "Columbia Meridian time."* It necessarily follows that local time, that is to say, sun time, and his clock time until he reached the Pole, if he kept on the 70th meridian, were at all times identical. This fact is important to remember.

An observation on a known meridian, gives three things. First it shows altitude; second, it gives local time, and determines the correctness of the time pieces (if the watches, which were set to that meridian time show 12 o'clock when the sun is at meridian, they are correct, otherwise they are in error); third, it tells the variation of the compass, as the sun is true south at noon. The variation in degrees shown on the azimuth compass from indicated south is the compass variation. These three things are the beacon lights for a mariner on charted or on uncharted seas. The method of taking an observation is explained by one author as follows: The sun rises in the forenoon and continues to rise, that is, it continues to increase its altitude. The observer with his sextant commences a few minutes before noon by his watch to observe this altitude. He takes one observation and gets one altitude. That means that he brings the sun by his sextant, down to the horizon. He then tightens the thumb screw on the instrument, fastens it to that altitude, and sets it aside for a few moments. The sun rises a little, but is not yet at noon. He takes another observation, moves the limb of his instrument a little further (to catch the increased altitude) until the sun is brought again to the horizon; and so on repeatedly until near noon when he notices that the sun scarcely rises. He then holds his sextant continually to his eye, until the instant the sun ceases to rise. Then it is local noon. He tightens the screw, fastens the instrument, and at his leisure, he can read from the face of his sextant the exact number of degrees, minutes and seconds of that altitude at noon. This is an observation.

*Page 25 Test.

From this observation he can, by his books, calculate his latitude. He gets everything from his books, except this altitude. He supplies no other local data except atmospheric conditions. It follows then, that if the altitude from his sextant shows him to be in latitude 89° 57′ north, at a certain hour on a certain date, he or anyone who has the books can reverse this problem and show as Peary has shown, that on that date, at noon, anyone who is located at 89° 57′ north latitude must have an altitude exactly corresponding to that shown on the sextant by his observation. This example of reversing the problem is not of great scientific moment, but is an ordinary example of mathematics. Anyone, familiar with these matters, who has the books, can tell what the altitude of the sun would be on a given date, at local noon, in any latitude on any longitude, and vice versa, knowing the altitude of the sun, he can know his latitude.* In view of the comparative simplicity of these matters it would seem an easy thing for an explorer to make fairly correct observations and to keep his locations clear.

Peary had been traveling north on the Columbia Meridian *viz.*, 70 degrees west. He says he took an observation on April 6 at noon, supposing that he was on that meridian in the vicinity of the North Pole. This observation he says indicated that he was in latitude 89° 57′ or three miles south of the Pole, longitude 70 degrees west ("A" diagram 9). When Peary discovered his position, he could have kept on moving north until he covered the three miles; taking observations toward the end of the distance, until he found that the sun's altitude in three or more directions was the same. He would then know he was at the Pole. He need go no further. But what did he do, or say he did?

He traveled, so the story reads in an apparently aimless manner right across the Pole, a distance of 10 miles; and then

*The sun at the Pole circles around the horizon at practically the same altitude from whichever direction it is observed, and at whatever "Columbia Meridian time" the observation is taken. It is true, that at the time that Peary says he was there, the sun was gradually ascending; in reality circling in a great spiral, but the increasing declination for which allowance is easily made, is so infinitesimal that it is immaterial in this discussion.

at "midnight Columbia Meridian time," he made his next observation, and found that he had gone too far! Then he returned the whole distance, not 7 miles to the Pole, but 10 miles (20 miles of travel both ways), to this starting point, his polar camp 3 miles from the Pole. Then he started off again on another apparently wild goose chase, in another direction a distance of 8 miles, and returned to his camp 3 miles "south" from the Pole, making a march of 16 miles more, traveling in 30 hours a total distance of 36 miles, and this at a time when, and at a place where, minutes even, would have been precious, trying to find the North Pole, which according to his own story was in sight all the time from his camp where he could have stood right over it in an hour or so. This tale is given to the public, as the procedure of an experienced naval officer of 25 years' standing, attempting to locate himself on the earth's surface. It is worthy of a more minute analysis.

During the thirty hours when he claims to have been in the vicinity of the Pole, he says he took but *four* sets of observations, at four different times as follows: The *first*, at noon April 6 on his arrival at "Camp Jessup." The *second*, at midnight April 6-7, 10 miles beyond Camp Jessup in the other hemisphere. The *third*, at 6 a. m. April 7 at Camp Jessup. The *fourth*, at noon April 7 at Camp Jessup. It will be seen that all but one, the midnight observation, were taken at Camp Jessup, from one spot. He says that the weather was calm and the sky was clear during the last twenty hours when he claims he was in the vicinity of the Pole.

In those four observations he viewed the sun in only two different directions, *viz.*, south and east, which makes a review very simple. He says that the two noon observations (first and fourth) were taken at Camp Jessup, that in both the sun was viewed in the south. (The sun is always in the south at local noon in northern latitudes.) The "second" observation was taken also when the sun was south, but to explain this observation a little further, Peary says it was taken ten miles from Camp Jessup and in the Eastern hemisphere on the 110th

meridian east, which is the same as the 70th or Columbian meridian extended. This observation was taken at midnight, (Columbia time) or noon (local time). The sun was, therefore, north from Camp Jessup, but south from Peary, at the time the alleged midnight observation was taken. We have now shown that the sun was in the south from the observer when the "first," "fourth," and "second" observations were taken. It was east when the "third" alleged observation was taken at Camp Jessup at 6 a. m. (C. M. T.) on the 7th of April.* The sun, therefore, was observed once in the east, and three times in the south. We are recording simply what Peary says.

He says he traveled seven miles beyond the Pole, a ten mile journey from Camp Jessup and arrived a little before midnight at the point where his second observation was taken. He arrived before the sun reached the meridian, and when it became midnight, Columbia Meridian time, and the sun was on the 110th meridian east, Peary took his observation, and being himself beyond the Pole and on the 110th meridian east, the sun was in the south and it was local noon where he stood.

Suppose at the same moment that Peary was observing the sun at midnight on the 110th meridian east, that Henson who was said to have remained at Camp Jessup on the 70th meridian west, (the Columbia Meridian) also had observed it from where he stood. It is obvious that it would be midnight with the sun in the north from Henson, and noon with the sun in the south from Peary, at the same moment of time.

After taking these observations at midnight Peary says he retraced his steps across the Pole to Camp Jessup arriving there at 6 a. m. on the 7th of April. He was, therefore, six hours returning from the place where he took his midnight observations. Meanwhile the sun was making its journey, and in these six hours (one quarter of a day), it traveled one quarter round the world, and of course was at that hour, east of Camp Jessup (if Camp Jessup was on the 70th meridian). Peary now takes another observation, so he says, viewing the sun this time in the

*See direction diagram No. 9. Page 40.

east. This is the only time he viewed it in any direction but south.

Peary says he then took another six hour journey directly toward the sun (which was in the east). He traveled 8 miles, then retraced his steps, and without taking any observations returned to Camp Jessup, reaching there just before noon, just before the sun again reached the 70th meridian. When the sun reached the Columbia Meridian at noon, he took "a series of observations" and the sun was of course in the *south*, exactly where it was 24 hours before, when he took his first observation at noon of April 6, from the same spot.

One more view; if Camp Jessup was on the 70th meridian, it was simultaneously Columbia noon and local noon. But at the so-called 10 mile camp, it was simultaneously Columbia midnight by Peary's watch, and local noon. Boston is on the 70th meridian west, south of Camp Jessup, Central China is on the 110th meridian east, south of the midnight location. When it is noon at Boston it is midnight in Central China. The same relative conditions of noon and midnight apply to positions within 12 inches of the North Pole. It is noon and midnight in a circle of 12 inches or less. But at the pin point of the North Pole there are no longitudes and there is no time. These illustrations are based upon the assumption that Peary was all the time on the 70th meridian west, or the 70th meridian extended into another hemisphere or 110th meridian east.

But nobody can tell from reading Peary's descriptions, where he intended Camp Jessup to be located. He says he took three different sets of observations a few hours apart on a perfectly clear day in order to obtain the exact location of Camp Jessup or to ascertain just where he was. The computations from each series of observations, changed the location from the result of the preceding set by *one hundred* degrees of longitude, or more than one quarter way around the globe. Here they are in condensed form.

Latitude North	Longitude West
Apr. 6 noon Columbia Meridian time 89° 57′	70° Cape Columbia Meridian
Apr. 7 6 a. m. Columbia Meridian time 89° 58′ 87″	170° Behring Strait Meridian
Apr. 7 noon Columbia Meridian time 89° 57′ 11″	70° Cape Columbia Meridian

For purposes of further testing the truth of these statements it will alternately be assumed that Camp Jessup was at each of the locations mentioned by Peary, and show that it is impossible to make truth out of either of his three statements.

First suppose Camp Jessup to be on the 70th meridian in accordance with the following statement, which for convenience we shall call Peary's *Statement No. 1.** "At local noon on the Columbia Meridian I made my first observation at our polar camp, which indicated our position as 89° 57′."† He further says (same column) "I then . . . went on, an estimated distance of ten miles. I was able to get a satisfactory series of observations at Columbia Meridian midnight." He continues: "When I had taken my observation at Camp Jessup in the west hemisphere at noon of April 6, Columbia Meridian time, the sun had been in the south. When I had taken my observations at midnight—in the eastern hemisphere the sun was in the south at that point." These clearly are the remarks of a person supposing himself to be on the 70th meridian and on the 70th meridian extended or 110th meridian east, using 70th meridian time. But the next morning (on April 7, 6 a. m.) he makes another allegation which we shall call *Statement No. 2.*‡ "At Camp Jessup, I took another series of observations at right angles of these previously made. These indicated our position as being four or five miles from the Pole towards Behring Strait. I then went in the direction of my observations

*3rd Col. 2nd Par. Page 163.
†Diagram 9.
‡4th Col. Page 165.

TABLE IX*

OBSERVATIONS AT THE POLE

EXTRACTS FROM PEARY'S VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS REGARDING HIS POLAR OBSERVATIONS

SUBJECT	1ST PUBLICATION	2ND PUBLICATION	PAGE	3D PUBLICATION	PAGE	REMARKS
Date	Many September 1909 Magazines	August Hampton's, 1910		Book "North Pole"		April, 1910 World's Work Magazine
Obs. Camp 26 Apr. 5, Lat. 89° 25′	"Before I turned in, I took an observation which indicated our position as 89° 25′"	"I took a latitude sight. This indicated our position to be 89° 25′, or thirty-five miles from the pole."	174 2nd	"I took a latitude sight and this indicated our position to be 89°25′ or thirty-five miles from the Pole."	284	Henson says no observations were taken on this day.
Obs. Camp 27 Jessup, Apr. 6, Lat. 89° 57′	"10 a. m.—I had now made my 5 marches and was in time for a hasty noon observation through a temporary break in the clouds which indicated our position as 89° 57′."	STATEMENT No. 1. "10 a. m.—At *local noon, on the Columbia Meridian* I made my first observation at our Polar Camp named Morris K. Jessup Camp, which indicated our position as 89° 57′."	175 1st col.	"10 a. m.—The last march ended at ten o'clock on the forenoon of April 6 after the usual arrangements for going into camp, at approximate local noon, of the Columbia Meridian, I made my first observation at our Polar Camp. It indicated our position as 89° 57′."	287	Henson says no observations were taken on this day.

*Table IX presents extracts from Peary's writings on this subject of observations condensed for ready reference. In connection with the column of remarks they furnish the data on which the reasoning is based.

SUBJECT	1ST PUBLICATION	2ND PUBLICATION	PAGE	3D PUBLICATION	PAGE	REMARKS
DATE	MANY SEPTEMBER 1909 MAGAZINES	AUGUST HAMPTON'S 1910		BOOK "NORTH POLE"		APRIL, 1910 WORLD'S WORK MAGAZINE
At farthest point midnight, Apr. 6, Camp Jessup, Apr. 7, 6 a. m.	"The first thirty hours at the Pole were spent in taking observations; in going some ten miles beyond our camp and some eight miles to the right of it."	*Statement No. 1.* "I started out with my two men, Egingwah and Sigloo, and a light sledge carrying only my instruments, etc., and went on an estimated distance of ten miles."	175 2nd Col.	*Statement No. 1.* "We pushed on an estimated distance of ten miles At the end of the journey I was able to get a series of observations at Columbia Meridian midnight."	289	Henson says he did not march and that Peary was absent about one hour only.
		"I was able to get a satisfactory *series* of observations at Columbia Meridian midnight which observation, indicated our position as being beyond the Pole. When I had taken my observation at Camp Jessup in the Western Hemisphere at noon of Apr. 6, Columbia Meridian time, the sun had been in the south, when	176 1st Col.	"These observations indicated that our position was then beyond the Pole. . . . It was hard to realize that, in the *first* miles of this brief march we had been traveling due north, while on the last few miles of the same march we had been traveling south, although we had been all the time traveling pre-		It will be noticed that the paragraph in 2nd column from Hampton's is omitted from the book "North Pole." Comments further in these pages will indicate the probable reason of the

SUBJECT	1ST PUBLICATION	2ND PUBLICATION	PAGE	3D PUBLICATION	PAGE	REMARKS
DATE	MANY SEPTEMBER 1909 MAGAZINES	AUGUST HAMPTON'S 1910		BOOK "NORTH POLE"		APRIL 1910 WORLD'S WORK MAGAZINES
Apr. 7		I had taken my observations at midnight between the 6th and the 7th, at the end of my ten miles march, in the Eastern Hemisphere, the sun was in the south at that point." *Statement No. 2.* "6 a.m.—At Camp Jessup I took another series of observations, at *right angles* to those previously made. These observations indicated our position as being four or five miles from the pole *towards Behring Strait* . . . Then I went in the direction of my observations an estimated distance of eight miles."	176 2nd Col.	cisely in the same direction." *Statement No. 2.* "6 a.m.—At six o'clock on the morning of Apr. 7, having again arrived at Camp Jessup, I took another series of observations. These indicated our position as being four or five miles from the pole, *Towards Behring Strait* . . . Therefore, with a double team of dogs and a light sledge, I traveled directly *towards the* sun, an estimated distance of 8 miles. Again I returned to the camp in time for a final and completely satisfactory series of observations on Apr. 7 at noon Columbia Meridian time"	290 291	omission. See page 172. Henson says no observations were taken on this day until noon.

SUBJECT	1ST PUBLICATION	2ND PUBLICATION	PAGE	3D PUBLICATION	PAGE	REMARKS
DATE	MANY SEPTEMBER 1909 MAGAZINES	AUGUST HAMPTON'S 1910		BOOK "NORTH POLE"		APRIL 1910 WORLD'S WORK MAGAZINE
				These observations gave results essentially the same as those made at the *same spot twenty-four hours before.*		
Apr. 7		"Noon—I returned to Camp again in time for a final and satisfactory series of observations at Columbia Meridian noon on the 7th, which gave results essentially the same as my observations twenty four hours previous. I had now taken thirteen single, or six and a half double, altitudes of the sun, at two different stations in three different directions, at four different times, and to allow for possible error in instruments and observations, had traversed in various directions, an area of about 8 miles by 10	176 2nd Col.	"I had now taken in all thirteen single or six and one-half double, altitudes of the sun at two different stations in three different directions, at four different times. All were under satisfactory conditions *except the first single altitude on the 6th.*""	290 291	

SUBJECT	1ST PUBLICATION	2ND PUBLICATION	PAGE	3D PUBLICATION	PAGE	REMARKS
Date	MANY SEPTEMBER 1909 MAGAZINES	AUGUST HAMPTON'S 1910		BOOK "NORTH POLE"		APRIL 1910 WORLD'S WORK MAGAZINES
		across. At some moment during these marches and countermarches I had for all practical purposes passed over the point where north, south, east and west, blend into one."				

*This last paragraph in 2nd column is added in Book "North Pole." It does not appear in previous publications.

an estimated distance of eight miles." This Statement No. 2 would place the same camp on the *170th meridian.* Obviously it is impossible for Camp Jessup to have been on the meridian towards Cape Columbia (the 70th) and on the meridian toward Behring Strait (the 170th) at the same time. Peary had only one camp, in his story, Camp Jessup.

Suppose for the purpose of analyzing *Statement No. 1,* that Camp Jessup was on the 70th Meridian on April 7, 6 a. m. He says he then: "Took a series of observations at right angles to those previously made—and went in the direction of my observations an estimated distance of eight miles." It is obvious from the description that he must have marched due east from A^* to K, or away from the Pole in an endeavor to cross it. Had his camp in truth been at A, he would probably have gone north three miles to be at 90 degrees, then if he wished to cover more territory in order to allow for any errors, he would have traversed his 8 miles in both directions from that point.

If Peary actually took the observation that he says he took the day before at local noon, April 6, and if he had the proper instruments, and found by computation that he was in latitude 89° 57′ or 3 miles from the Pole, he knew which way was south, and which north; he knew that it was noon and when it would be midnight. Let us analyze his *Statement No. 1* still further. He says the sun was in the south when he took his noon observation, April 6. If it was in the south at noon Columbia Meridian time he was himself on the Columbia Meridian. He could not be mistaken in this, even with an imperfect observation as to altitude, for he must have also known the local time, direction, and compass variation. It is folly for the Geographic Society to indicate, as they do, that his observation may not have been accurate on the 6th, for if it were not substantially accurate, the facts regarding it are misleading. If Peary was there with his time pieces, his compasses and his eyes, he could not have been mistaken.

To fully impress his readers that he was not mistaken, and

*Diagram 9.

could not be mistaken, he says he "verified it," and then demonstrates how he did it. He says he started directly north from "A" (not three miles to the Pole, but strangely enough 10 miles to "B") and reached a point 7 miles beyond the Pole in the opposite hemisphere, on the opposite meridian, which would be 110 degrees east. He gets there before midnight, and before the midnight sun gets there, and prepares for a series of observations, with a clear sky, calm weather, and at midnight Columbia Meridian time, on the 6-7th of April, he finds the sun exactly in the south when it reaches that meridian. It was, therefore, local noon, thereby absolutely "verifying" his previous noon observations at Camp Jessup. The sun could be nowhere else at that time, in that hemisphere, on that meridian, but south. Could it have been possible for him to have been mistaken in these facts, if he actually observed them, if he had his corrected time, if he had his compasses? He says it was a calm clear day "cloudless and flawless." Anyone looking at the diagram, can see that it is a perfect description of the facts and events he wishes to portray. If Peary were actually there, his description is correct. It follows, therefore, that if he were somewhere else at those times, at noon April 6 and midnight April 6-7, he could not have observed the things that he says he did observe. They would not be applicable to any other time or location. None of the descriptions would be true if he were not at those places, at those times, and traveled in those directions.

But Peary says he WAS NOT THERE. Why he says it, may be conjectured and explained, but the fact that he does say it, cannot be denied. Here it is. *Statement No. 2* on page 290 in his book he writes: "At 6 o'clock on the morning of April 7, having again arrived at Camp Jessup, I took another series of observations." "These indicated our position as being four or five miles from the Pole, *toward Behring Strait.*" This would place him in about latitude 89° 55′, longitude 170 degrees

west* or at "C"† or 100 degrees west of the Columbia Meridian, where he first said he was, in *Statement No. 1.* Camp Jessup, of course, did not shift as a later observation proves and according to his story he had only one polar camp. One can readily understand how such a discrepancy can arise from a mistake in memory; but such a mistake would be impossible to occur, *as a mistake in facts of observation.* He should have remembered that an entirely different set of descriptions would be necessary to fit the new location, if in fact, he was on the 170th meridian, instead of the 70th. At noon, Columbia Meridian time, the sun was not in the south on the 170th meridian, but north of east.‡ He could not mistake such a fact as that. If he had gone on as he says he did "*in the same direction*" 10 miles from his camp, he would, if the camp was at *C* have gone southwest from *C* to *D*, not north, as he has described his march in *Statement No. 1.* His compass would have shown this. Neither could he have gone north a while and then south, on that route, as he said he did on the route he took. His time pieces would all have shown over six hours out of the way. Everything that guided him would have been out of joint. It is impossible to conceive how a person on the spot could have been so confused without his instantly detecting his errors.

The real incongruity of his assumption that Camp Jessup was on the 70th meridian can best be illustrated by combining it with his second statement which locates Camp Jessup on the 170th meridian. Suppose now that Camp Jessup is on the 170th meridian. Suppose Peary's observation on the 6th at noon (Columbia time) was as he intimates faulty; but that the series taken at 6 a. m. on the 7th found the camp to be truthfully located on the 170th meridian, "towards Behring Strait." How could the sun have been south as he said it was, at noon C. M. T., from that position? It would have been north of

*His facsimile observation on page 362 North Pole, shows the latitude to be 89° 57′ 11″.

†Diagram 9.

‡See compass direction on Diagram 9.

east.* If it was noon C. M. T. by his time pieces, it would have been 5:20 a. m. local time. If he had "pushed on" from that point "in the same direction, traveling an estimated distance of ten miles" he would have been marching *west south west* away from the Pole, in a presumed endeavor to find it. At the end of this ten mile march at midnight C. M. T. he said he found the sun again in the south. It could not have been south. It would have been slightly south of west. He also says that on this ten miles march he traveled "part of the time north and part of the time south, but all the time in the same direction." He could not have traveled a single inch in either of those two directions, but he must have traveled south-westerly going, and north-easterly returning.

He further says that he took his series of observations at 6. a. m. on the 7th at right angles to those previously made. This presents an impossible conglomeration. If we assume it to be true that Camp Jessup was on the 170th meridian, and assume also that his statement is true that "when I had taken my observations at Camp Jessup—at noon of April 6, Columbia Meridian time the sun had been in the *south*;" and assume also that now at 6 a. m. the 7th he took observations at right angles thereto, he would have marched his 8 miles directly east towards *L*.† Even if the sun is assumed to have been south from this location at noon April 6, it could not possibly have been south at midnight at D, after the ten mile march. It would have been southwest.† If, therefore, neither this location nor any other location can correspond to his two statements, there is no escaping the conclusion that both the statements are in error.

It is true that the sun was in the south at noon Columbia Meridian time, on the meridian of Cape Columbia *viz.*, (70 degrees west). But it could not have been in the south, at the particular instant at the particular place where he afterwards says he actually was, "on the Behring Strait meridian," *viz.*, 170 degrees west, because it was 5:20 a. m. (local time) and the

*See compass direction Diagram 9.

†Diagram 9.

sun was then north of east from that point. It would not be south until *local* noon, and it could not be local noon on the 170th meridian and local noon at the 70th meridian at the same moment.* Both statements cannot be true.

This point may be viewed from still another angle. It may be assumed, for purposes of reasoning, that the sun was south from Camp Jessup on the 170th meridian when he took his noon observations. (It must be remembered constantly that Peary is recognizing the different points of the compass, even when he is only a short distance from the Pole), that is to say, that it was local noon (Behring Strait noon) not Columbia Meridian noon. If it was local noon, it was 6:40 p. m. Columbia Meridian time. And if (continuing the presumption) he had traveled directly across the Pole as he alleges he did, and the sun was in the south when he reached his farthest point at local midnight, it would not and could not have been as he says "Columbia Meridian midnight." It would have been Behring Strait Meridian midnight, which latter time he did not carry. It is impossible to be either noon or midnight, by any one fixed time, Columbia Meridian time, or any other time, on the 70th and 170th meridian simultaneously.

Peary's two statements taken in connection with his locations of Camp Jessup and stripped of all unnecessary and confusing verbiage, stand forth as stating impossibilities. No stretch of credulity or of faith, can justify a belief that these conflicting statements are facts of observation, that they are a record of events. It must be, therefore, that when he decided to make the record show Camp Jessup as being in the direction of Behring Strait, he overlooked the fact, that his description in *Statement No. 1*, would all be false as to that location. Such a glaring error cannot be accounted for in any way except that statement No. 1 was an imaginary record of events. He was not there; could not have been there; could not have been at either place. These statements establish in another way their absurdity as they also necessarily include another impossibility,

*Diagram 9.

viz., that he traveled in a direct course from Camp No. 26 at latitude 89° 25′, longitude 70° west, to Camp No. 27 (Camp Jessup) in latitude 89° 57′ longitude 170° west, a distance of 36 miles between the two camps. And then by "pushing on" and extending this line of travel 10 miles further, "in the same direction," that he crossed the North Pole, and passed from one hemisphere into another. As a matter of fact every step he took on this alleged ten mile march, if Camp Jessup were on the 170th meridian, would have been a step away from the Pole and not toward it.* His statements do not check with one another, do not harmonize. They are impossible.

It will be admitted that if he had reached within 5 or 10 miles of the Pole, regardless of the accuracy of his observations, it was sufficiently near to entitle him to the glory of the achievement. The only question to be considered is if he actually was there or in that vicinity, would it be probable that he would make such conflicting and unnatural statements as these? His elementary statement is true that if one stands at the Pole, all directions are south. But to make this technically right, he must stand exactly at the pin point of the Pole. Peary, of course, did not wish to imply that he was on the exact spot where East, West, North and South meet. If it were a fact that he really was four or five miles from the Pole, he might be pardoned for assuming that he was sufficiently near to warrant that flowery description, merging all directions into one, and as being within an author's latitude; but this is evidently not his intention.

He says he started from Camp Jessup (Camp No. 27), went directly north, and after crossing the Pole, went on *south*. He, therefore, assumes that which would have been correct, that there are two directions in which one must travel even in those few miles from the Pole. In order to emphasize this, he says "when I took the sun at noon *Columbia Meridian time*, (Camp No. 27, Camp Jessup) the sun was in the south." When he took it again at midnight in the opposite hemisphere, it was again

*Diagram 9.

in the south. These two statements are made as being facts of actual observation, and they coincide with the statement that he traveled on the 70th meridian. But they cannot be reconciled with the other statement that Camp Jessup was afterwards found to be located by a series of observations "four or five miles from the Pole, towards Behring Strait" which is on the 170th meridian. If the camp was actually found to be on the 170th meridian, it was there in the beginning. There is where it was at the end, and where it was all the time that he claims he was in the vicinity of the Pole. He only had that one camp—"Camp Jessup."

One would think that such a tangle as results from these two statements was about as bad as could well be made; but Peary shifts again, and makes it still worse, again evidently forgetting. The observations last referred to were alleged to have been taken at 6 a. m., April 7. He says he took another set at noon of the same day. On page 190 he writes: (after his alleged 8 mile trip) "Again I return to Camp in time for a final and *completely satisfactory series of observations*, on April 7 at noon Columbia Meridian time. . . . These observations gave results essentially the same as those made at the same spot *twenty-four hours before.*" That is to say, he again imagines himself just where he first said he was at the previous noon April 6, on the Columbia Meridian 70 degrees west, not on the Behring Strait Meridian 170 degrees west.

This is the record exactly as Peary has written it. It must be conceded by any intelligent person that these statements are utterly impossible of reconciliation. Somewhere in these statements is a falsehood, and there was only one possible way out of the dilemma to make it plausible. There is in fact no possible way out. In only one way, could an attempt be made to escape its force, and that was to amend the statements, to so change them, as to make them as ambiguous as possible. Such an attempt has been made, but as is usually the case, [illegible]iction is made more certain. Peary risks it. Peary leaves [illegible] book *The North Pole* (which was published later

than his article in *Hampton's,*) *Statement No. 1.* It is bodily withdrawn. Daniel Webster once said of a prisoner: "He must confess or commit suicide, and suicide *is* confession." The withdrawal by Peary *Statement No. 1* is confession. Two falsehoods do not make one truth. It is after all, two falsehoods, instead of one. It is impossible to conceive of any reason why Peary should omit this descriptive paragraph if it were true. It is a perfect and an important description or recitation. It is a description of what he said existed, and what he said he saw at the North Pole. Why omit it?

He must have been told that he must omit it. When it was read in *Hampton's* in August his attention must have been called to its absurdity, and its incongruity. He must have been reminded that no person could make a diagram or plot a route to correspond with such contradictions, such impossibilities. It is too plainly a creation of events. Anyway he omits it, withdraws it. The members of the National Geographic Society then attempt to make a map and to plot a route corresponding to the omission, and make a statement just as if the omitted paragraph had never been written; but with fatal results as will later be seen.

It is justifiable, under the circumstances, to assume that Peary never intended to give the public any further information than that contained in his published narrative in *Hampton's.* He desired to secure recognition and honors, and then rest. Under such circumstances, who could ever dispute a plain truism like *Statement No. 1,* providing he kept all else under cover? Congress, however, insisted upon evidence; upon the record. Here was a most embarrassing dilemma, indeed, which necessarily involved in its meshes the National Geographic Society. They must make a diagram and plot a route or be forestalled by someone else; but a diagram and a route without eliminating *Statement No. 1* was impossible for any one. It was, herefore, eliminated from the book, and the book was put in vidence. Face this evidence squarely just as it was preented, regarding these alleged observations. Three distinct

sets of observations are said to have been taken 12 hours apart, from one spot, for the sole purpose of ascertaining the exact location on the earth's surface of that spot. A separate computation was made from each observation by the observer immediately after the observations were taken. Two of these three computations resulted in locating that spot (Camp Jessup) on the 70th meridian west. The other one resulted in locating it on the 170th meridian west. One hundred degrees of longitude apart. Nearly one third round the world on that latitude (about 89° 55′). This is sufficient to uncover the truth without comment.

Who can say that Prof. Galle of Berlin is not right in his conclusion that "None of Peary's methods are reliable. Even if he did reach the Pole, he wouldn't know it." Father Rigge, S. J., Professor of Astronomy and Physics in Creighton University, Omaha, says "From the data furnished by Mr. Peary, I am wholly unable to map out his journeys near the Pole, or to locate him in the various positions where he says *he took his observations.*"

Peary's two facsimiles* refer to latitude only. Not a scrap or a figure to show how he obtained his longitude in attempting to locate the camp, yet he says that one set located the camp on the 170th meridian of longitude, and the other set located it on the 70th, a difference of 100 degrees of longitude or nearly half way round the globe. This is his first and only attempt on the journey to locate a camp.† What the rest of the alleged 13 observations would show had the public been permitted to see them may be conjectured. Whether 170 or 70 degrees is the truth or whether either of these is correct cannot be known, as all the computations are suppressed. Nothing is offered but assertions. His own judges, sponsors and witnesses at the hearing in Washington testified as will be shown that he was wrong in both locations; that these observa-

**North Pole,* Pages 292, 3.

†Allusions to these discrepancies must be made in degrees of longitude to meet the allegations. But 100 degrees longitude 5 miles from the Pole is only about 6 miles in actual distance.

tions when correctly computed make the location of that camp on the 137th meridian west. That is to say, that the nearest they could locate the camp to any of Peary's wandering locations, was 33 degrees from the nearest one, and 67 degrees from the other.

In a previous chapter it was shown how Henson's narratives differ from Peary's as to statement of the same facts. Here it is seen that Henson's comments on "observations" show a still greater discrepancy, if it be possible, because they emphatically contradict Peary.* Henson says and repeats, that no observations were taken in the five marches north of Bartlett Camp or until noon of the 7th. Peary says distinctly that he took four; one on April 5, making the latitude 89° 25′ another on April 6 at noon at latitude 89° 57′, one at midnight 6th, one at 6 a. m., 7th. Henson says on April 6: "There was a dense mist hanging over everything. The sun being obscured by the mist, it was *impossible to make* observations." Henson also says the first observation (on the 7th, noon, *not the 6th*) located the North Pole "just behind our igloos." Here are both Peary's and Henson's statements on the subject in parallel columns.

TABLE X

OBSERVATIONS

HENSON		PEARY	
Apr. 5, *Hampton's* Apr. 1910	"*Estimating* the distance we had come during the last 4 days, we figured that unless something happened during the course of this day, we should be at the Pole before its close. He made no observations in the 5 days. Merely knew we had 132 miles to go. He repeats no observations were taken."	Apr. 5, Page 284, "*North Pole*"	"Fearing a cloud bank at the south might mean thick weather on the following day, which would prevent an observation, *I took a latitude sight.* This indicated our position to be 89° 25′ or 35 miles from the Pole. I determined to make the next camp in time for a *noon observation.*"

*Table No. 10.

HENSON		PEARY	
Apr. 6 *Hampton's* Apr. 1910	"We crawled out of our igloos and found a dense mist hanging over everything. Only at intervals when the suns rays managed to penetrate the mist could we catch a glimpse of the sky. "The sun being obscured by the mist, it was *impossible to make observations* to tell whether or not we had reached the Pole, so the only thing to do was to crawl into our igloos and go to sleep. *He made no observations in the five days.* He merely knew that we had 132 miles to go, and he *supposed* that we could nearly make it in the five days of marching. "On the following morning (the 7th not the 6th Ed.) Commander Peary set out with two Eskimos and one sledge with a tin of pemmican and instruments, leaving me repairing a sledge and in charge of the camp." "In about an hour the Commander returned. I can make observations but of course I did not meddle at this time. "I said to Peary 'if we have traveled in the right direction, we are now at the Pole. If we have not traveled in the right direction, then it is your own fault.' " Again Henson says: "No observations were taken." "Upon his return 'in an hour' Peary ordered out a pole consisting of a long handle to hold up an [illegible]an flag."	Apr. 6, *Hampton's* Aug. 1910	"About 10 o'clock I called a halt. At local noon on the Columbia Meridian I made my first observation at the polar camp named the Morris K. Jessup camp, which indicated our position as 89° 57′. I turned in for a few hours sleep. "I turned out to be in readiness for an observation at 6 p. m. Columbia Meridian time, in case the skies should clear. Unfortunately it was overcast; but as there were indications that it would clear before long, I started out with my two men, Egingwah and Sigloo, and a light sledge carrying only my instruments, a tin of pemmican, drawn by a double team of dogs and went on an estimated distance of ten miles." "It had cleared while we were traveling and at the end of the journey, I was able to get a satisfactory *series* of observations at Columbia midnight, which observations indicated our position as being beyond the pole. "When I had taken my observations at Camp Jessup in the western hemisphere at noon, Apr. 6, Columbia Meridian time, the sun had been in the South. "When I had taken my observations at midnight between the 6th and 7th

HENSON		PEARY	
			at the end of my ten mile march in the Eastern hemisphere, the sun was in the South at that point, but to those at the camp on the other side of the world, only ten miles away, it was in the North."
Apr. 7 *Hampton's* Apr. 1910	"The sun was shining brightly in the morning of Apr. 7, when we crawled out of our igloos and temperature was 33 below. Expectation was written on every face for we knew observations could be taken *at noon* and we should *at last* know whether we had reached the goal. "The Commander waited with impatience for the hour of noon to arrive and then began to take observations. These were made at three different points and while he was making his calculations we were detailed to reconnoitre in different directions for the purpose of ascertaining if any land could be seen. The result of the first observations showed that we had figured out the distance very accurately for when the flag was hoisted over the geographical centre of the earth, it was located *just behind our igloos*. Observations taken later in the day showed that the flag should be placed about *150 yards to the westward of the first position on account of the continual eastward* drift of the ice. The Eskimos showed their	Apr. 7 *Hampton's* Aug. 1910	"6 a. m. I took a series of observations at right angles to those previously made. These observations indicated our position as being four or five miles from the Pole *towards Behring Strait.* Then with a double team of dogs, a light sledge, and Ootah and Egingwah, I went in the direction of my *first* observations an estimated distance of eight miles. "I returned to Camp again in time for a final and satisfactory series of observations at Columbia noon on the 7th which gave results essentially the same as my observations 24 hours previous. "I had now taken 13 single or 6½ double altitudes of the sun at two different stations in three different directions at four different times, etc., and had traversed in various directions an area of about 8 to 10 miles across."

	HENSON		PEARY
	delight by jumping around and exclaiming 'Ting-noigh-tima K e t i s h e r,' which means 'We have reached here at last.' "I suppose if the truth were known, their rejoicing was not because we had reached the North Pole, but because we had arrived at the place from which we would start back for home."		
Apr. 6 and Apr. 7	Henson says that they stayed in camp taking observations for 34 hours, and that Peary was absent but one hour (on the morning of the 7th). He also says that when they crawled out of their igloos on the morning of the 7th, the sun was shining brightly implying clearly that they were sleeping on the night of the 6th.	Apr. 6 Page 289 *North Pole*	Peary says they left camp with a party at 6 p. m. and went 10 miles until midnight, and returned to camp at 6 a. m. on the 7th. In other words he was out traveling all night and made 20 miles. He then says he went out in another direction 8 miles returning in time for a noon observation at camp, (16 miles more). Then 4 p. m. after an ineffectual attempt to sleep, he started south and reached camp No. 26 "in good time" (36 miles more). In other words, he traveled all the time (except from 12 to 4 on the 7th) from 5 p. m. on the 6th to the evening of the 7th, and without sleep. Yet Henson says he was absent on the morning of the 7th "one hour."

Peary says the camp was at 89° 57′, that the Pole was *three miles away*, not right behind the igloos, and that it was located on April 6 at noon, not at noon of the 7th. Enough space is already given to this illustration, to demonstrate the unreliability of the information presented, and to establish the fact, that one or the other, at least, is wrong from beginning to end. Which is it? This may appear.

Henson's version as to observations is entirely consistent. He not only says in two places, in describing other matters, that no observations were taken until noon of the 7th the day after they reached the Pole, but also in describing the weather on the 6th, and the impatience of the party to ascertain the location, he says a dense mist prevented the taking of observations, so there was nothing to do but to crawl into the igloos and go to sleep.

Now read in comparison Peary's statement. He says in his first published narrative,* copyrighted in the magazines, that on the 5th march, (April 6) "In 12 hours we made 40 miles," or from 89° 25′. In the next sentence, he says "I had now made my five marches, and was in time for a hasty "noon" observation which indicated our position as 89° 57′. He obviously did not observe the discrepancy in those two sentences, which discrepancy is evidence, if not proof, that he took no observation, because if he had actually taken the observation, and found he was at 89° 57′, he would see at a glance that the distance traveled that day from 89° 25′ was 32 miles, providing he was on the same meridian and had taken an observation the day before and found his latitude then to have been 89° 25′. It would not check out with any other figure. It is evident that Peary did not take the sun on the 5th, or on the 6th, as he said he did—wherever he may have been. Observations of the sun would have been his only means of knowing his true position—all else is guess-work—make-shifts—estimates. If he had taken the sun the day before, April 5, at noon which made his location 89° 25′ and had now noon (April 6) again taken it and found his

**Outlook* Sept. 18, 1909.

location 89° 57′, there would have been just 32 minutes (or nautical miles) distance between the two points. He would have known that. He would not have "estimated" or guessed either "40" or "about 30."

The Peary Arctic Club or the Geographic Society must have called Peary's attention to this lapse, for anyone can see that the two entries would not have been made in a diary, with the latitudes before him, if he had his latitude and knew just where he was at noon April 6 and knew where he was the day before at noon; he could make no mistake as to the distance between the two camps. The fact seems to be that the notation of an "*observation,*" was an after-thought, and made for the purpose of squaring with later transactions. This is proven by Peary himself, obviously after it was detected. In the later *Hampton* publication, he changed his former statement, and says, "When we had traveled, I *estimated* a good 15 miles, we halted, made tea, ate lunch and rested the dogs. Then we went on another 'ESTIMATED' 15 miles." "In 12 hours actual traveling, we covered at LEAST 30 MILES." This correction corroborates Henson not only as to distance, but that the distance was "ESTIMATED;" and was *not known by any observations.* This change in the number of miles, from 40 to 30, is not only an admission of the wrong in the first statement, but appears also as an admission that no observations were taken.

Henson says, "Riding one cannot so well judge distances." This frank remark unconsciously and reliably determines two things. First, that Peary rode most of the way on the sledges and second, that he took no observations on *that* day, because one would not "judge" distances if he had observations before him. Observations for latitude determine the latitude. Estimation of distances is only made for dead reckoning purposes—when no observations are possible—or are resorted to between observations. The fact that both Peary and Henson made estimates in their diary (or log) of the distance traveled on the 5th between the alleged Camp No. 26 and No. 27 is evidence

enough that no observation was taken at Camp No. 26 or at Camp No. 27 on arrival or at noon of the 6th. But coupled with Henson's direct statement that no observations were taken on those dates—and Peary's "guess" that the distance was 40 miles— then afterward changing it to 30 miles—saying it was an "*estimate,*" is convincing evidence that no observations were taken.

In Peary's first published story in *Hampton's Magazine,* August and September 1910, before opportunity was afforded him for suitable revision of his statements in order to make them accord with scientific facts, he falls into some of the same errors that Henson does. He wrote then and repeated it, of his hope of reaching the Pole in time for a noon observation. Then in reaching there he was in time for a "noon observation." This expression about the arrival of "noon" at the Pole, sounds odd coming from one who had actually been there; for if actually there, he would at once realize that there is no other time but "noon." There could be no waiting for it. There could be no observations taken at any other time. The sun at the Pole circles around the horizon at practically the same altitude from whichever direction it is observed, and at whatever "Columbia Meridian time" the observation is taken. It is true, as before stated that at the time that Peary says he was there, the sun was gradually ascending, in reality circling in a great spiral, but the increasing declination for which allowance is easily made, is so infinitesimal that it is immaterial in this discussion. This error in expression was detected. In the later *Hampton* publications, and in Peary's book, he corrects all allusions to the subject by adding to each sentence after the word "noon" in profuse repetition "Columbia Meridian time." This correction does in fact alter the meaning of the sentence, but it is a confession or an admission that the first draft was a thoughtless one. It is still meaningless under the peculiar circumstances. One would as likely, if he were actually there, say he took an observation at day break; or as soon as it was daylight; when it is known that it is daylight all the time and noon all the time.

Henson says no observations were taken at Camp No. 26 or anywhere on the route from Bartlett Camp to Camp No. 27 (Camp Jessup), that none was taken even at Camp No. 27 until the next day after arrival or until *noon April 7;* that Peary was absent from the camp but one hour during all their stay (wherever they were on those days of April 6 and 7). Peary presents as evidence of his visit to the Pole this conglomeration of absurdities and impossibilities. He says he was absent from the camp for 18 hours; traveled right across the Pole from one hemisphere to the other; and found the sun in the south at both ends of his journey, and then took another jaunt of 8 miles and back going in still another direction. Henson tells of what he saw, and what he thought he knew. But what is Peary telling? Which story is the most reasonable, the most believable, the most sensible?

Among other things in his article *World's Work*, April 1910, Henson gave a description of the *movement of the sun* as follows: "It was one continuous period of daylight, and there was never a time when the sun was not above the horizon. We could see it at any hour of the 'day or night' unless it happened to be obscured by the light clouds. Perhaps I ought to add that the sun in that latitude does not cross the sky by traveling overhead. It goes around the horizon in a circle, starting *low down* and gradually rising for a little distance, and then *sinking back* toward the horizon, but never reaching it. You can look directly at it without hurting the eyes, and there is no warmth in its rays at all." This has no special significance as a description except in its local application. But it is significant in what it *omits*. It is a perfectly natural description of the movement of the sun over the Arctic Zone south of the Pole, during the portion of time in the long Arctic day, when the midnight Sun swings above the northern horizon (or when it does not set below the horizon). Henson's description is not, however, either new or novel and is of no special interest to the reader, as to that special "dash." This peculiar movement of the sun in high latitudes had been noticed and described by

thousands of observers before Henson was born. Henson had himself witnessed it continually in many years before, in his long service in the Arctic. It is, therefore, manifest and obvious, that had he on this trip noticed any unusual phenomenon never before witnessed by human eyes, he would have described that phenomenon—and not something comparatively commonplace that applied as well to Cape Columbia or Etah, or Spitzbergen as to any place on the dash, *except at the North Pole.*

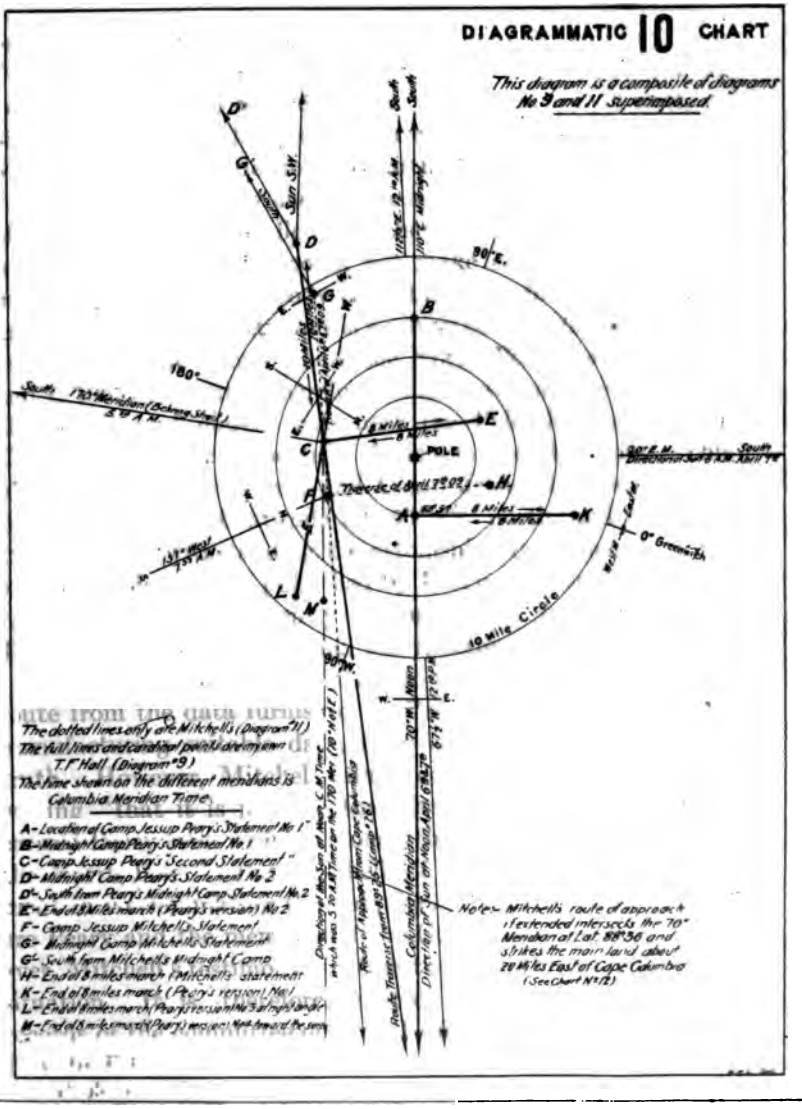
The significant point is that he did not describe the movement of the sun as it would have appeared to him had he been at the North Pole. Had he been there, he would have described it as he saw it there, not as he saw it at Camp Bartlett, or south of Camp Bartlett or as he had seen it in other years. Henson no doubt was told that he was at the North Pole. Possibly he believed he was there. But this peculiar description of the movement of the sun and the omission of a proper North Pole description is evidence, and good evidence, as far as it goes, that he was not at the North Pole. Had he been at the North Pole, he would have noticed a phenomenon, which he surely would have described as being something never before described from personal observation, by mortal man. It would have been an unprecedented honor and distinction. The sun at the North Pole on April 6 and 7, 1909, circled around the sky horizontally, equidistant above the horizon, parallel to it every hour, in its daily circuit. Its distance above the horizon was about 7 degrees, (a distance, equal perhaps to 12 or 14 times its diameter). The phenomenon would have been so noticeable and so strange being constantly before him for 30 hours, that it would have attracted his attention—as nothing else would have attracted it, while there, or could have attracted it had he been there. It was the only noticeable natural phenomenon at the Pole. Would he omit it in a description of the movement of the sun? He was describing a "dash" to the North Pole—yet his description of the sun applies to its movements elsewhere —and not at the North Pole. That is what constitutes the significance.

It is risky for novices to touch upon natural laws. Peary avoided doing so in every possible way. But when the time arrived when he must say something to show he had been to the Pole—he is as vague, mysterious and as indefinite as language will permit—yet he fatally blundered after all in his first description, as will later on be seen. Such a lapse on the part of Peary is a blunder. Not so with Henson. It is unsophistication. Had the relations between Henson and Peary at that time been such that the former could have consulted the latter, Peary would undoubtedly have told Henson to "let the sun alone, don't fool with it." "You will get your foot in it if you do." "Describe anything else"—"water, ice, sky, weather, going, dogs, ambidextrous feats, anything but the sun." "You should notice that I let the sun severely alone in my book, excepting in a brief way where it was necessary to explain my alleged observations."

Having minutely reviewed Peary's and Henson's records we are familiar with Peary's observations; with his method of knowing his time, and the direction of the sun with reference to the two places from which he says he observed it, during his alleged stay of 30 hours at the Pole. We are now prepared, having these salient facts in mind to analyze this record in connection with Mitchell's diagram,* which was offered as evidence before the Congressional Committee presumably by Tittmann, a member of the committee of the National Geographic Society, or rather it was made by his employees and vouched for by him.

Years have elapsed since Peary's alleged visit to the Pole, affording ample time for correction and yet no one can tell within 100 degrees of longitude where Peary wishes to have Camp Jessup located. As if this plotting of a story by Peary did not present a case sufficiently ludicrous, Mr. Tittmann, one of the three judges who passed on Peary's claims, vouches to the Congressional committee for a diagram and a plotting of Peary's route,* made he says by his employees Mitchell and Duval,

*Diagram 11.


DIAGRAMMATIC 10 CHART
This diagram is a composite of diagrams No 9 and 11 superimposed.
POLE
10 Mile Circle
90° W.
90° E.
180°
0° Greenwich
Columbia Meridian
The dotted lines only are Mitchell's (Diagram "11")
The full lines and canadian points shown are T.F. Hall (Diagram "9")
The time shown on the different meridians is Columbia Meridian Time.
A- Location of Camp Jessup Peary's Statement No 1"
B- Midnight Camp Peary's Statement No 1
C- Camp Jessup Peary's Second Statement "
D- Midnight Camp Peary's Statement No 2
D'- South from Peary's Midnight Camp Statement No 2
E- End of 8 Miles march (Peary's version) No 2
F- Camp Jessup Mitchell's Statement
G- Midnight Camp Mitchell's Statement
G'- South from Mitchell's Midnight Camp
H- End of 8 miles march (Mitchell's statement
K- End of 8 miles march (Peary's version) No 1
L- End of miles march (Peary's version) No 3 almost due
M- End of 8 miles march (Peary's version) Not known to be
Note:- Mitchell's route of approach if extended intersects the 70° Meridian at Lat. 88°36 and strikes the main land about 20 Miles East of Cape Columbia (See Chart No 12)

DIAGRAMMATIC 10 CHART

professional computers who "agree to a minute" and find from Peary's alleged observations, that Camp Jessup should be located at Latitude 89° 55′ 23″ and Longitude 137° west, or 33 degrees of longitude from the nearest of Peary's locations, and 67 degrees of longitude from his farthest.

Tittmann or Peary had to present a diagram and a plotting of a route or be forestalled by others and the decision of the judges discredited. He could not make a plot from Peary's imaginary locations—nobody can; it presents too rough a sea to navigate on. But Tittmann is a geographer of distinction and learning, and he knows where the North Pole was on April 6 and 7, 1909. In order, therefore, to have at least one of Peary's alleged lines of march cross near the Pole, he knew where Camp Jessup must be located. This was smooth sailing. This plot was therefore drawn, and Camp Jessup located, for the truth of history, at latitude 89° 55′ 23″ north, and longitude 137° west, notwithstanding the astonishing fact that not a line or a single figure ever published by Peary justifies such a location. Data were evidently manufactured for the purpose. This not only required daring, but unscrupulous audacity.

When Mitchell found that it was impossible to plot a route from the data furnished by Peary, he should, instead of manufacturing suitable data, have advised the public of the truth. However, Mitchell calmly concludes his comments in writing "that it is possible that the march of April 7, 1909, carried Peary even within a stone's throw of that magic point—the North Pole." But Mitchell, of course, is only an instrument in consummating this iniquity. Those responsible for it are Peary and the members of the Geographic Society. However, Mitchell's testimony is interesting, and throws light on the situation. It is, therefore, quoted here verbatim from the records of the committee on Naval Affairs—(Sub-committee on Private Bills).*

*Published in Government Pamphlets.

Note—Diagram No. 10 is a composite chart composed of diagrams No. 9 and Mitchell's diagram or map and plotting No. 11. One is placed over the other that the discrepancies and contrasts may be plainly seen. The dotted lines represent Mitchell's lines (from diagram No. 11.) The smooth lines represent diagram No. 9. It is difficult to make compass directions over long distances *appear correctly on a flat* sheet as they are on the globe. But *sufficient accuracy can be obtained to* illustrate here the points desired.

"*Mr. Englebright.*—'Did you make this diagram?'*

"*Mr. Mitchell.*—'Mr. Duvall made it; I verified it.'

"*Mr. Englebright.*—'Have you had the data of Mr. Peary's observations near the Pole?'

"*Mr. Mitchell.*—'Yes Sir.'

"*Mr. Englebright.*—'Mr. Peary made a statement before this committee that he made no longitude observations, that he made the statement that on April 6, he made an observation at Camp Jessup, that he made an observation ten miles farther, then came back and made observations at Camp Jessup, two different observations six hours apart. On careful analysis of those observations, from careful computations made, could you determine his latitude and longitude from those observations?'

"*Mr. Mitchell.*—'From the two observations six hours apart I could determine both the latitude and longitude.'

"*Mr. Englebright.*—'Did you do so?'

"*Mr. Mitchell.*—'That is plotted there and labeled; the point marked Camp Jessup is the result of that computation, a computation of the two sets of observations on the morning of the 7th, one at 6:40 o'clock and the other at 12:40, Columbia Meridian time.'†

"*Mr. Englebright.*—I have a document here in writing, some remarks made by you, giving the calculations and figures, with your name and your report. Did you make that (*indicating*)?'

"*Mr. Mitchell.*—'Yes Sir.'

"*Mr. Englebright.*—'I offer this as part of the record.' "

(The paper referred to is in part as follows:)

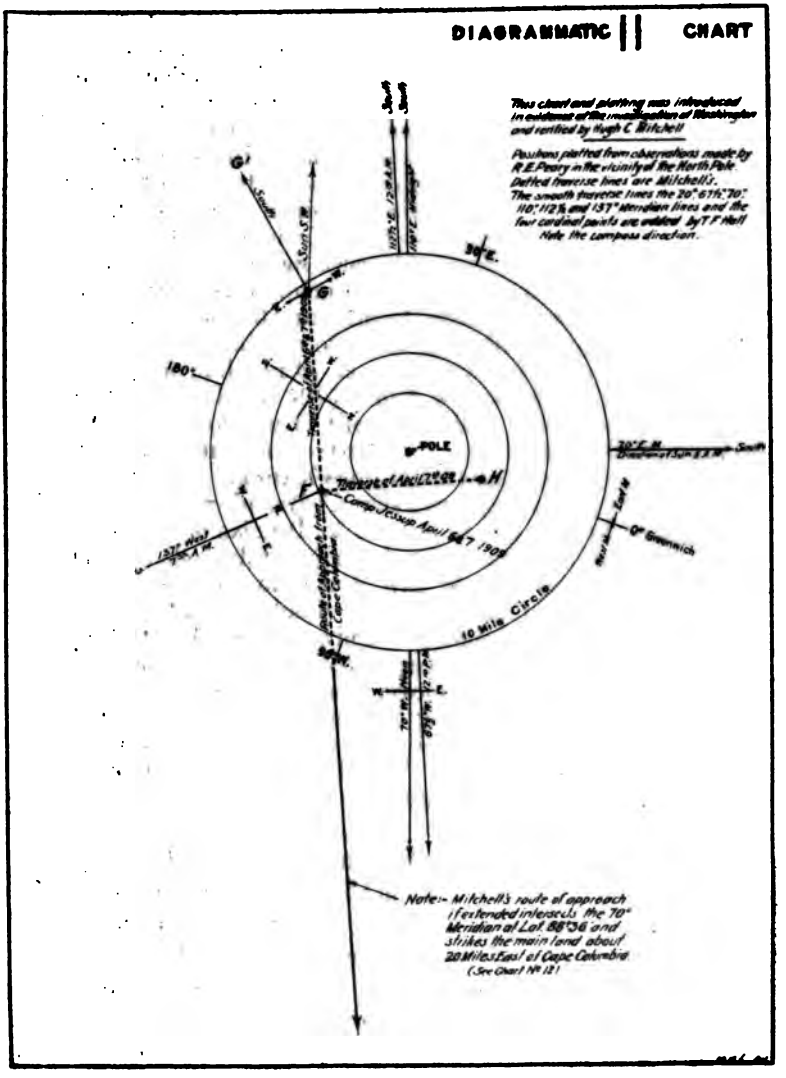
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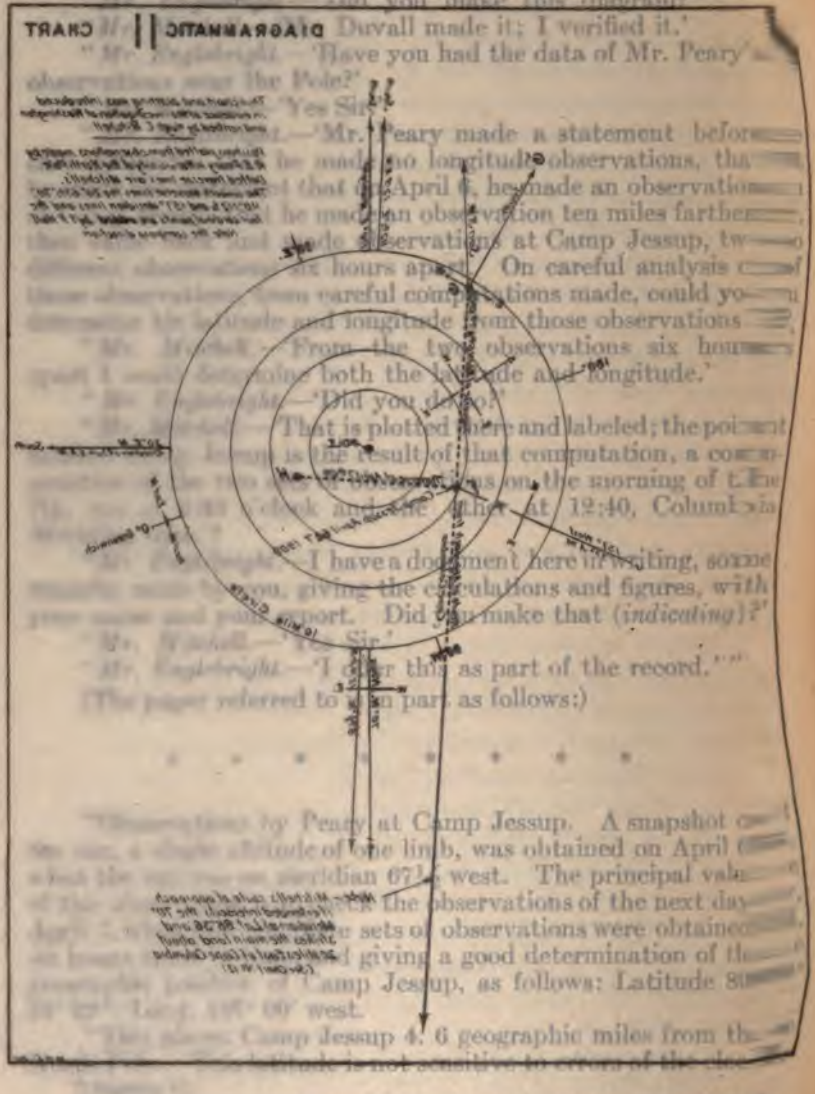
"Observations by Peary at Camp Jessup. A snapshot of the sun, a single altitude of one limb, was obtained on April 6, when the sun was on meridian 67½ west. The principal value of this observation is to check the observations of the next day, April 7, when two complete sets of observations were obtained, six hours apart in time, and giving a good determination of the geographic position of Camp Jessup, as follows: Latitude 89° 55′ 23″; Long. 137° 00′ west.

"This places Camp Jessup 4. 6 geographic miles from the North Pole. This latitude is not sensitive to errors of the clock

*Diagram 11.

†It will be noticed on next page of the testimony that he says it was sixtieth meridian time, not "Columbia (70th) meridian time."


DIAGRAMMATIC CHART
This chart and plotting was introduced in evidence of the investigation at Washington and verified by Hugh C. Mitchell
Positions plotted from observations made by R.E. Peary in the vicinity of the North Pole. Dotted finenose lines are Mitchell's. The smooth fineness lines the 20°, 67½°, 70°, 110°, 112½, and 157° meridian lines and the four cardinal points are added by T.F. Hall Note the compass direction.
Jan 1
Jan 2
South
South S.W.
S.W.
W.S.W.
W.
W.N.W.
N.W.
N.N.W.
N.
N.N.E.
N.E.
E.N.E.
E.
E.S.E.
S.E.
S.S.E.
S.
S.S.W.
180°
90° E.
90° W.
POLE
Camp Jessup April 6th 7 1909
Course of Arctic Sledges
Course of Peary's Sledges 1st Camp
Cape Columbia
20° E. of
Greenwich
10 Mile Circle
137° West
from N.P.
Note:- Mitchell's route of approach if extended intersects the 70° Meridian at Lat. 88°36 and strikes the main land about 28 Miles East of Cape Columbia
(See Chart No 121)



Duvall made it; I verified it.'

'Have you had the data of Mr. Peary's observations near the Pole?'

'Yes Sir.'

'Mr. Peary made a statement before ... he made no longitude observations, tha... that on April 6, he made an observation ... he made an observation ten miles farther ... made observations at Camp Jessup, tw... six hours apart. On careful analysis ... careful computations made, could yo... determine the latitude and longitude from those observations ... From the two observations six hours ... both the latitude and longitude.'

'Did you do so?'

'That is plotted here and labeled; the point ... is the result of that computation, a co... was on the morning of the ... and the other at 12:40, Columbia ...

'I have a document here in writing, some ... you, giving the calculations and figures, with ... report. Did you make that (*indicating*)?'

'Yes Sir.'

'I offer this as part of the record.'

(The paper referred to is in part as follows:)

* * * * * * * *

... by Peary at Camp Jessup. A snapshot ... altitude of one limb, was obtained on April ... meridian 67½ west. The principal val... the observations of the next day ... sets of observations were obtained ... giving a good determination of the ... Camp Jessup, as follows: Latitude 8... Long. 69° 00' west.

... Camp Jessup 4. 6 geographic miles from the ... latitude is not sensitive to errors of the clock ...

... next page of the testimony that he says it was sixtieth ... Columbia (70th) meridian time."

correction of ten minutes changing the latitude by 5″ or 6″. Errors of observation in measuring altitude, while entering more strongly into the result, are apt to work against one another and minimize their combined effect. It is probable that this position is not in error by more than two geographic miles.

"After taking the observations at noon of the 6th at Camp Jessup the expedition marched straight ahead ten geographic miles and took a set of observations on the sun, the time being midnight, (sixtieth) meridian (west) time. This line of travel has been plotted, *assuming that its direction is directly opposite to the direction of the sun when the noonsight of April 6, was obtained.* Assuming a longitude from the plotting made, and computing the latitude from the observations, we get the latitude of point of observations of April 6, midnight equal to 89° 49′ which may be in doubt by as much as three miles. This agrees satisfactorily with 89° 50½′ which was scaled off the map.

"On the morning of the 7th, when observations showed that Camp Jessup was *probably* in the direction of Behring Sea from the Pole, a march of eight miles was made in the direction of the sun, under the *belief* it was directly over the Pole. Computations of the azimuth of the sun at the time of observation (6:40 a. m.) showed, however, that it was 20° to the right of the Pole, and the line of march was plotted accordingly. This shows that Peary probably passed within 1.6 geographic miles of the North Pole, and when we consider that the errors of position may have amounted to as much as two miles, and that the chances are even for these errors being in any one direction as in another, it is possible that the march of the forenoon of April 7, 1909, carried Peary even within a stone's throw of that magic point—The North Pole."

Respectfully submitted,
HUGH C. MITCHELL.

This ambiguous letter of Mitchell's is offered to prove that Peary's statements are verified and are true, when as a matter of fact it contradicts them all. Mitchell says that all three observations give "a good determination of the geographic position of Camp Jessup as follows": "Latitude 89° 55′ 23″," "Longitude 137° 00′ west." If his object was to enlighten Congress and not to deceive it, why did he not then say, as a truthful candid witness would have said, "We found Peary's statement and computations valueless, and totally unreliable?" Why

did he not say: "Peary used the identical data that we used, and found on two different occasions by two separate observations at the same place, noon (6th of April) and noon (7th of April) that he was on the 70th meridian, instead of the 137th as we find him, or 67 degrees east from where we prove his own observations locate him. On one other occasion, *viz.*, at 6 a. m., April 7, Peary using the identical observation that we used, found himself by his computation to be on the 170th meridian west or 33 degrees the other way from where we show the Camp really was; and at midnight, using the same observation that we used, placed himself by his computation on the 110th meridian east, whereas, we found him to be on the 140th meridian east or 30 degrees away, and that with two sets of observations taken by him on a calm day within six hours apart, with a bright sun, he could not get them to agree within 100 degrees of longitude; that neither are correct, and we consider such representations and such data absolutely worthless."

The reason he did not say these things was because his purpose obviously was to bolster a false decision which the Committee of the Geographic Society had made. Could a committee of honest men, could impartial judges, have reported favorably on the claims of anyone who submitted such contradictory and obviously fabricated statements? Would the Copenhagen University have done it? Would astronomers of integrity have done it?

References to Diagrams 9 and 11 will explain the three different locations of Camp Jessup according to both Peary and Mitchell. Peary's statement No. 1 locates Camp Jessup at *A*.* His 10 miles march brought him at midnight to *B*. The end of his 8 mile march at *K*. When he afterwards decided that the camp was actually on the Behring Sea meridian, it was then relocated at *C*, and the 10 mile march brought him to *D*, at midnight and his subsequent 8 mile march to *E*. Mitchell locates the alleged camp at *F*†, and the end of the 10 mile march

*Diagram 9.

†Diagram 11.

at *G*, and the end of the 8 mile march at *H*. This makes three different locations for Camp Jessup, three different locations for the end of the midnight 10 mile march, and three different locations for the end of the 8 mile march.*

Peary says that when he observed the sun at "A" at noon April 6 and again from the same spot at noon April 7 both by Columbia Meridian time, it was south in both instances and that it was on the 70th meridian, and when he again observed it at midnight of the 6th and 7th at the end of his 10 mile march (at "B") it was south from that point, and that the midnight series of observations at "B" checked up and verified the accuracy of the previous noon observations at "A."

Mitchell testifies that Peary was on the 137th meridian† at noon April 6 and at noon April 7, and that the sun at that moment was on the 67½ meridian west instead of on the Columbia Meridian (70° west). The sun would have been in that event 69½ degrees EAST of SOUTH viewed from "F" and even if it had been viewed from "A" instead of "F" it would have been in that event 2½ degrees east of south. Granting for purposes of illustration that the sun could have been on the 67½ meridian west at noon (or 11:30 C. M. T) it must then have been directly opposite to the 67½ meridian at 11:30 midnight C. M. T. which would have placed it on the 112½ meridian degrees east.

These conflicting opinions place the sun at the same moment over two disputed meridians (67½ and 70) and if it were possible to view it on each meridian at the same time and from the three disputed locations of Camp Jessup from whence it is alleged to have been viewed, it would have been shining from six different directions at noon and from six different directions at midnight. It may seem strange that such an incongruity can exist in a public document. It would also seem that no further comment need be made. But truth demands it,

*This is shown on the composite chart No. 10 which chart is chart 11 and 9 super-imposed.

†"F" Diagram 11.

history demands it. An attempt will be made to show that in Mitchell's statement, there is scarcely one truthful utterance; and that in his plotting every line of traverse is counterfeit. The false alleged position of the sun and its direction at the different hours, is so interwoven by Mitchell and Peary with the location of the different camps and the different marches, that it is somewhat difficult to present each phase separately, and discuss it without repetition. But an endeavor will be made to show at least the cause of the incongruity.

FIRST take the *time.* Peary says he carried Columbia Meridian time (70th Meridian west) and that all of his alleged observations near the Pole, whether made at noon, midnight, or at 6 a. m., were taken by Columbia Meridian time. Mitchell in his testimony says:* "The point marked Camp Jessup is the result of that computation, a computation of two sets of observations on the morning of the 7th, one at 6:40 o'clock, and the other at 12:40 *Columbia Meridian time.*" So far Peary and Mitchell both testify, *that Columbia Meridian time was the actual time used.* But Mitchell in the statement quoted hereinbefore in every reference to the time except in his first paragraph calls it *60th* meridian time (west).

The fact that the facsimile observations that are published in Peary's book show the time of taking them to correspond to Mitchell's time, indicates that they have been changed to justify these computations, because Peary in his writings and in his testimony always has said that his alleged observations were taken at noon *Columbia Meridian* time (not 12:40), and 6 a. m. Columbia Meridian time (not 6:40). There is not one instance where he has said he used the time shown in the alleged facsimiles. In view of these facts, how is it possible to explain the discrepancy between Peary's uniform representation and the alleged facsimile observations which correspond to Mitchell's computations, and which produce a different location for Camp Jessup by over 30 degrees of longitude from where Peary says it was?

*Testimony, Page 136.

The questions are:

First: Would Peary be likely to write in his book, that he took the sun at "noon" April 7, (Columbia Meridian time) and then make a facsimile on another page of the same book (292) showing that the same observation was taken "12:40 p. m." instead of "noon?"

Second: But even if this one error were possible, would he repeat identically the same kind of error, in the only other facsimile in the same book, covering the only other "*noon*" observation, that he alleges to have made while near the Pole?

Would he be likely to write in his book or in his diary that he also took the sun at "noon" *April 6* (Columbia Meridian time) and then make a facsimile on another page of the same book (362) that this observation was taken on April 6 "12:50 p. m." instead of "noon?"

Would he have written in his diary the word "NOON" on two succeeding days, and then write 12:50 p. m. on one of those days to represent that same moment "noon" for that day, or would he write 12:40 p. m. on the next day to represent that same moment "noon" for that day when each entry on each day, was intended to cover the same identical moment that "noon" for that day represented?

The significant and astonishing feature, however, is that while these two facsimiles both belie what Peary has himself written, they *both* singularly *agree* with Mitchell's false assumptions.

The natural question is "*Who prepared these two facsimiles of observations?*" Was it Peary, whose every word on the subject belies them both, or was it possibly these honorable, expert, rocking-chair geographers, with whose false figures both facsimiles exactly correspond?

TABLE XI

TABLE SHOWING THE FABRICATION IN THE HOURS AND TIME USED BY MITCHELL.

	PEARY		MITCHELL	
Date	Hour	Time Used	Hour	Time Used
6th	12:00 noon	70th Mer. time	12:00 noon	60th Mer. time
6th	12:00 midnight	70th Mer. time	12:00 midnight	60th Mer. time
7th	6:00 A. M.	70th Mer. time C. M. T.	6:40 A. M.	70th Mer. time C. M. T.
7th	12:00 noon	70th Mer. time C. M. T.	12:40 P. M.	70th Mer. time C. M. T.

Notwithstanding Peary's statements as shown in the above table the two facsimile observations exhibited in his book are as follows:

6th	12:50 P. M.	70th Mer. time C. M. T.	This 12:50 is clearly 60th meridian time, with a chronometer correction of 10′.
7th	12:40 P. M.	70th Mer. time C. M. T.	This 12:40 is clearly 60th meridian time.

Peary's statements in his book contradict his alleged facsimiles, and Mitchell's concoctions disagree with everything in Peary's record. More space cannot be devoted to this subject. It is hoped that astronomers, or navigators will take it up, and exhibit its incongruities to the public, from many angles, which cannot be undertaken here.

As to the sun: Peary says that when he viewed the sun at noon April 6 C. M. T. it was south, that it was on the 70th meridian west. Mitchell says in his statement: "A snapshot of the sun, a single altitude of one limb was obtained on April 6, when the sun was on the 67½ meridian west," and in the same sentence he says (of the location of the observer) "that the geographical position of Camp Jessup was Latitude 89° 55′ 23″, Longitude 137° 00′ west." Therefore, according to Mitchell, the direction of the sun (if on the meridian 67½° west) at

the time the observation was taken, was not *south* but *69½° east of south*, and consequently Peary would have erred in compass direction to that extent, 69½°.

But Mitchell does not himself stick to this position long. If the sun was on the 67½ meridian west at 12:30 sixtieth meridian time (which is the only time it could be there), and if as Mitchell says "The expedition marched straight ahead 10 geographical miles and took a set of observations of the sun, the time being midnight sixtieth meridian time," then Peary would have found the sun at midnight exactly opposite to the 67½ meridian west, which is the 112½ meridian east. But Mitchell's *plot* locates Peary at that moment on the 140th meridian east, which is 27½ degrees from the 112½ meridian where his statement would locate him, and is 30 degrees from the 110th meridian, where Peary said it was.

This shows that Mitchell accepts a part of a paragraph in Peary's statement No. 1 as being true, *viz.*, that "he traveled 10 miles straight ahead," but rejects (or suppresses the rest of the same paragraph) as being untrue, *viz.*, that the observations were taken at midnight 70th meridian time, and that the sun was in the south when Peary viewed it. This is garbling. Mitchell knew that the sun could not have been south at the end of the route as plotted by him at "G," even by his own selected time, of the 60th meridian, or his own false location of the sun, on the 67½ meridian at noon. Hence he suppressed that part of the Peary's paragraph. A more offensive act can hardly be imagined than when Tittmann, through Mitchell, garbles Peary's statement No. 1 to sustain his own false position.

Statement No. 1 contains certain statistical and technical data which must be considered as a whole exactly as written in order to grasp its meaning and purport. It is in brief and in effect, I will repeat, that Peary took an observation of the sun at noon Columbia Meridian (70) time, that the sun, when he observed it, was in the south. He then pushed on (in the same direction in which he came) 10 miles further into another hemisphere. In doing so he explains that he traveled due

north part of the way and due south part of the way, yet going in the same direction all the time. That, at the end of the ten-mile journey at midnight he again observed the sun and that it was then again in the south. This statement No. 1 of these facts of observation with these compass directions are only applicable to that one identical place and time, to that one route only. Nowhere else on the earth's surface is it applicable.

Now observe Mitchell's ingenious work at garbling and his plotting of a false route. He first detaches from the text and uses the words "pushed on 10 miles in the same direction" and plots a counterfeit route to match his garbled extract. He omits the description "north part of the way and south part of the way" because it would conflict with his false routing. He also omits the description that the sun was in the south and he locates Camp Jessup at a spot where the sun was not in the south, at the times stated. He also ignores Peary's words "Columbia Meridian time," (which is 70th meridian time) and adopts 60th meridian time as data from which to locate Camp Jessup to match his false routing. With all his falsified and garbled data it necessarily follows that there is nothing and can be nothing of truth in his deductions, in his diagram, or in his plotting.

Mitchell says:

"On the morning of the 7th, when observations showed that Camp Jessup was probably in the direction of Behring Sea from the Pole, a march of eight miles was made in the direction of the sun, under the belief it was being viewed directly over the Pole. Computations of the azimuth of the sun at the time of the observation (6:40 a. m.)* showed however, that it was 20° to the right of the Pole and a line of march was plotted accordingly."

He computes the azimuth as placing the sun 20 degrees to the right of the Pole viewed from somewhere; he does not say where, presumably the 170th meridian, because he uses this to correct a supposed error of Peary, "who believed the sun was

*This is 40 minutes or ⅔ of an hour from a true representation of Peary's record. He says it was 6 A. M., C. M. T. which means 10 degrees of longitude.

directly over the pole." Now the sun was not 20 degrees to the right of the Pole viewed from the 170th meridian at 6 a. m., C. M. T. As a matter of fact the azimuth of the sun would have shown it to have been to the left instead to the "right" of the Pole.* But Mitchell had already said that Peary was not on the 170th meridian, but on the 137th. If so he must have marched from there (the 137th meridian) towards the sun. The azimuth of the sun at that time, 6 a. m., would have shown it to be approximately *28 degrees* to the right of the Pole.† An investigation is supposed to ascertain the facts and report what is found; it is not expected to suppress facts and report a fabric. But this is what Mitchell obviously has done, both with respect to time and the direction of the sun, at noon April 6 and at midnight of the same day.

Mitchell's statement and plotting, if believed, places Peary in the following grotesque positions: That he took the sun at noon April 6 and thought the time was noon (Columbia Meridian time) when in fact according to Mitchell it was 11:30 a. m. C. M T. He also thought the sun was south at noon, but it was, so Mitchell says, 69½ degrees from south. Then he marched as he supposed directly north, but in truth according to Mitchell, he went southwest (10 miles.) He then, arriving at the end of the journey at midnight took another "satisfactory series of observations" and thought the sun was in the south at that point, but as a matter of fact according to Mitchell it was 30 degrees from south. He thought also that he was on the 110th meridian east when in truth (according to Mitchell) he was on the 140th meridian east. Then he started back for Camp Jessup supposing he was going north again, but was actually, according to Mitchell, traveling 40 degrees from north. After reaching Camp Jessup, Peary concluded to try again in another direction of 8 miles "directly towards the sun" supposing "the sun was directly over the pole," but a true azimuth, says Mitchell, displayed the fact that he was again mistaken by 20

*Diagram 9.

†Diagram 11.

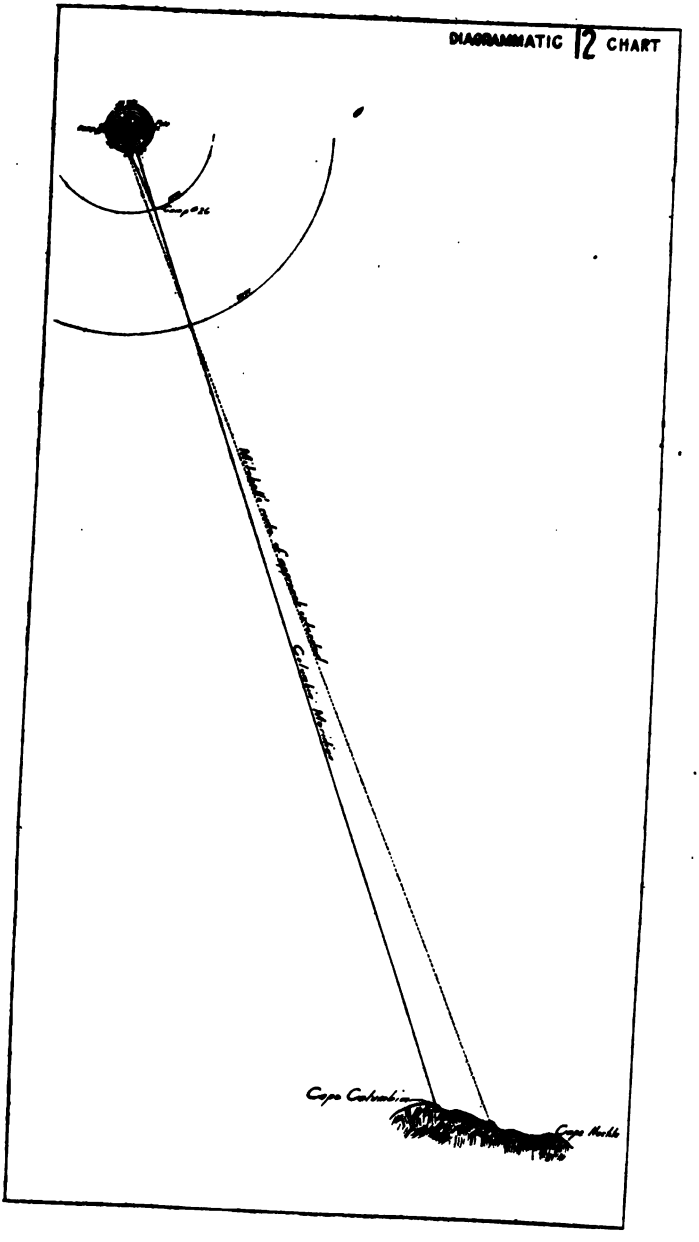
degrees in the location of the sun. Now luck favors Peary for once, or possibly "a potent charm" fell upon him. He passed, says Mitchell, within "1.6 miles of that magic point, the North Pole." Just the very point he was searching. More grotesque positions in which to place Peary than these could scarcely be concocted.

The "time" and the "position of the sun" have now been reviewed. But before taking the next step, we may stop to inquire how Mitchell in the first place came to locate the sun over the meridian 67½ degrees west. This perhaps is his method. He adopts 12:40 p. m. 60th meridian time, which is equivalent to noon C. M. T. (as the sun travels 10 degrees in 40 minutes) but by deducting 10 minutes for an alleged error found in a chronometer in Washington, brings it to 12:30 p. m., 60th meridian time, at which time the sun was on the 67½ meridian. (If the 10′ be added, it would bring the time to 12.50.) This is ingenious but confusing.

The time when these observations were taken is supposed to have been local time, which is obtained from the sun, not from chronometers. True local time is ascertained by observations when the sun is on the meridian of the observer. Mitchell, therefore, had no just excuse for introducing 60th meridian time, which time Peary did not use or carry, and there can be no reason for assuming that a navigator did not know his own local time.

Now as to the plotting: Peary says that on April 5 he was at Camp 26th, Latitude 89° 25′, and from there marched to Camp Jessup, No. 27. It would make no difference then which of the several named spots is selected for the alleged Camp Jessup. The line of approach to that spot would be a line drawn between Camp No. 26 and that selected spot. But Mitchell plots a line of approach on his diagram with one end at the alleged Camp Jessup on the 137th meridian west, and the other end (if extended) striking the coast of Grant Land midway between Cape Columbia and Cape Heckla.* Having got this line at an angle to suit his purpose, he then draws

*Diagram 12.


DIAGRAMMATIC 12 CHART
Cape Columbia
Cape Hecla

DIAGRAMMATIC 12 CHART

another line representing the 8 mile march, at right angles to this erroneous line and very generously makes the 8 mile line by this angle pass 1.6 miles distance "from that magic point, the North Pole." We have now before us the essential facts noted in Mitchell's statement and in his diagram.

Mitchell says that he and Duval made separate computations by separate methods from the observations submitted by Peary and that they both agreed in results to "a minute." We cannot dispute this statement, because they do not let us see their computations or Peary's, so that we may know whether they are correct or not, and we do not know wherein Peary's computations differed from Mitchell's. One thing is certain, either their computations are erroneous, or the data supplied them by Peary were false. Both cannot be true, because they are contradictory and impossible. It was and is incumbent upon Mitchell and Duval to explain.

Mitchell says that Camp Jessup was on longitude 137 degrees west.* When he discovered this fact, he should have declared at once, or the Geographic Society should have declared upon learning it, that Peary had submitted spurious data, and that it was impossible for Peary to have been where he says he was in his description, at the time when he says he took the observations upon which they made their computations. Peary said that when he took the observation at noon April 6, the sun was in the south. He had his time pieces, his compasses and a clear sky. He certainly knew about these; but whether he knew or not, we have quoted his record as published to the world. Mitchell knew the very moment he finished his computations that Peary could not possibly have been on the 137th meridian, 67 degrees from where he supposed he was. Why does Mitchell say Peary was there? Mitchell knew that either his own computations were wrong or that the data were wrong. He should have discovered wherein it was, and made it known. He knew that if Peary was at that spot "F," the sun was not south at noon Columbia Meridian time, but a few

*Page 136, Test.

degrees from east. Mitchell practically admits he *knew* the error when he says "the sun was on meridian 67½° west." If this is true, Peary must have been on that same meridian, 67½ west (not the 137th) to find the sun south, but he said he was on the 70th meridian; and that is the only meridian on which he could have been and have the sun in the south at noon, Columbia Meridian time. Yet notwithstanding this indisputable fact, Mitchell puts Peary in an impossible place, and the sun in an impossible place, and is there any escape from the conclusion that not only has one or the other falsified, but that both of them have done so?

Assuming for a moment that Peary was actually at "F" at noon April 6 on the 137th meridian west as Mitchell says he was, would the following clause in the statement by Mitchell be true? "A snapshot of the sun, a single altitude of one limb was obtained on April 6 when the sun was on meridian 67½ degrees west." Peary says he took this observation at noon C. M. T., but his facsimile on page 362 of his book shows 12:50. Take either time. The sun was not south at either time viewed from "F" on the 137th meridian. It was north of east.

Assuming again for another moment that Peary was at "F" at noon on the 137th meridian where Mitchell says he was, why then, if intending to go to the Pole, did he go southwest (towards home) as plotted by Mitchell? The Pole was not in that direction. It was north. The only possible answer can be, that if Peary was at "F," *he didn't know where he was*, and so went off on a wild-goose chase southwest. Peary would not have been such a fool as that. But we ask in all candor, why would he take that trip, if he did not know either his location at noon at "F" or the direction of the sun? How could he know his location any better at midnight at "G?" He had exactly the same facilities, sextant, compasses, time pieces, and the same clear sky. Then the question arises how did such a navigator ever know where he was, after leaving the Bartlett Camp?

The same impossible conditions confront this plotting at "D"* where Peary would have been at midnight, if Camp Jessup was at "C" 170° west, as at "G."† Peary could not possibly have been there for he says: "When I took my observations at midnight at the end of my 10 mile march, the sun was in the south at that point." Now south from "D" is toward "D'" and the sun was not there at midnight Columbia Meridian time. It was on the line southwest from "D" as shown.‡ It can, therefore, be seen that Mitchell must be absolutely fabricating a plot, or perhaps was ordered to fabricate one. It is not a plot of Peary's record, and no such plot could have been made except by fabricating the data upon which to make it. Even though it is impossible for any honest or thoughtful person to accept this plot as truthful, we may consider the means adopted in making it.

No person can plot Peary's routes on the 6th and 7th of April from his record. Honest men who have tried to do so admit its impossibility.** However, anyone can lay out a plausible route if he fabricates his data, and this is what Mitchell obviously has done. If one is at liberty to discard a part of Peary's record as being untrue, and then make selection of such parts of what remains as will check with the desired result, there will be no difficulty in landing him at the North Pole. This is exactly what has been done.

In the next to the last paragraph over his signature Mitchell says: "This line of travel has been plotted '*assuming*' that its direction is directly opposite to the direction of the sun when the noonsight of April 6 was obtained." He has no right to "assume" anything of the kind. Peary has never published a single line justifying the plotting of such a route, in any such direction. This is not computation, it is concoction; and being introduced as evidence in a matter of such world wide interest by a Government Official borders on the criminal.

*Diagram 9.
†Diagram 11.
‡Diagram 9.
**See Prof. Rigge's remarks.

Peary tells fully where he went, the direction he took, and submitted those details to the Geographic Society. If any plot is made and offered in evidence, the public is entitled to one corresponding to Peary's record, not corresponding to an "assumed" record, when such an assumption is in itself, a flat contradiction of Peary's story. Peary tells (Statement No. 1) exactly what he did. There is no ambiguity in his language, no mistaking his intention, no misunderstanding what impression he wished to make by that statement. This is the question which the Geographic Society had to decide: "Is Peary's story true, or false?" Their plotting finds it false; they falsely report it true. This action should yet be investigated by Congress.

Mitchell's statement was offered in evidence in Peary's interest. It was offered to verify the claims, and to justify and sustain the action of the members of the Geographic Society. But it is about as positive proof as can be found that the claim was a concoction and was false. Such a statement is strong evidence as far as it goes, that not only was important testimony omitted from the record, but that a plotting was made, in collusion between Peary and members of the Geographic Society, as the only possible means of escaping detection.

Again, while the omission in Peary's book of Statement No. 1 permitted Mitchell to make a plot, and a statement corresponding to his plot, it does not relieve Peary from another statement, which was evidently overlooked and *not omitted.* On page 289 in his book, after months of preparation thereof, he says: "It was hard to realize that in the first miles of this brief march (ten miles beyond Camp Jessup) we had been traveling *due north,* while, on the last few miles of the same march we had been traveling south, although we had been traveling precisely in the same direction." This is in effect a reiteration of Statement No. 1, made from another point of view, in order to verify that statement. The facts correspond with it. This last quoted remark is not omitted in the book. It is a part of the record and it was before Mitchell when he ***de his plot.***

Can Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Tittmann, or any one else explain, how such a statement as this can be reconciled with the Mitchell route, as plotted in his diagram shown herewith? Could any one travel part of that route north and part south? Mitchell says that Peary's observations, computed by himself and Duval show that Peary traveled over the route plotted, which route is practically in a line running southwest and northeast and that the 10 mile march was away from the Pole, not toward it, and also that if he were there and on that route he did not know where he was. The truth is, and must be, that Peary did not make the march, and did not make the observations as he alleges. Mitchell's plot confirms the opinion. If Peary made such a march and was where he said he was on longitude 170° west, or even where Mitchell says he was, 137° west, the sun was not in the south viewed from either of those points. If the sun was south where Peary was, he was not where he claims to have been, or where Mitchell claims he was. There can be no possible way of reconciling these statements.

There is also an error in the plotting by Mitchell as to Peary's line of "approach from Cape Columbia." Peary did not say that he approached in a direct line from Cape Columbia, or from a point on Grant Land east of Cape Columbia. He says he started on his last march from Camp No. 26, Latitude 89° 25′, Longitude 70th west. Mitchell's plot should show a line drawn from one camp to the other, as before stated not from a point on the coast of Grant Land several degrees east of Cape Columbia, which would have made a different route, in a different direction. Not a line in Mitchell's plot is Peary's routing, or a routing from Peary's description. It is Mitchell's plot. It does not verify Peary's story or his claim, but contradicts and discredits both.

It would be useless to attempt to trace all the errors that necessarily follow an adoption of such false premises. Mitchell assumed a wrong time, a wrong direction of the sun, a wrong direction of travel, and consequently produced a wrong location of Camp Jessup. No value can be placed on Tittmann's and

Mitchell's computations, because they are obviously based on false data throughout. They evidently selected arbitrarily a suitable position in which they wished to locate Camp Jessup, and then deliberately prepared the necessary premises from which to produce this location, time, direction, etc. If the object of this testimony and this plot was to prove that Peary's observations, his calculations and narratives, are unreliable, they have succeeded beyond the fondest hopes of Peary's enemies. Nothing need be added. If Peary and his witnesses after months of preparation err 33 degrees of longitude in locating him at the nearest point, what would his critics be likely to find if they could see the observations, if they could have the facts? They could at least show the public how the discrepancy occurs. The little that Peary vouchsafes to the public is enough to arouse suspicion. He gives facsimiles of only two of his observations. Why does he withhold the rest?

The biggest fool that was ever born, could not in an attempt to locate himself somewhere on this earth's surface, get over 180 degrees out of the way. Yet Peary, a very intelligent man, a navigator, a civil engineer, shows an error of 100 degrees in one day's calculation.

One thing out of this horrid mess is clear. From Peary's own statement, he actually made a mistake of 100 degrees in longitude in one day's march. No wonder he did not take any observations on the journey for longitude, and no wonder that Gannett says "They are unnecessary;" and no wonder Peary does not give a single observation between the Bartlett Camp and the Pole, for if he had made the same error each day after leaving the Bartlett Camp for the five marching days that he says he consumed in getting to the Pole, he would have made errors of 500 degrees of longitude, which would have taken him *nearly once and a half times around the globe.*

Henry Gannett and O. H. Tittmann, have attempted to bolster up their testimony, by obviously fabricated data. The evidence presented by them is based on the clap-trap theory, that showing accurate computations, from the observations on

which they are based, is proof positive that the observations themselves are genuine. The pretense that the discovery of some slight errors in Peary's data as to chronometer time actually brings him a little nearer the Pole is too obvious to deceive any thoughtful person. To emphasize this, an attempt is made to illustrate by a great flourish of detail (thereby diverting attention from the nonsensical performance) that a rerating of a chronometer was made, which brought forth some data unavailable to Peary on the Polar Sea. This chronometer could have gained an hour a day, or stopped altogether, or been at the bottom of the sea, as far as having any bearing whatever on Peary's observations or calculations was concerned, for a careful examination of all of Peary's writings fails to find a single word, that warrants a belief that he took either of his ship chronometers on his trip over the Polar ice. It would have been strange if he did. He appears to have had two chronometers on his ship when he left New York. Borup and McMillan used one* in tidal work on the Greenland Coast. The o her is supposed to have been left on the ship, to be used on her return south in the event of the loss of the one taken by Borup and McMillan. Peary says he took no observations for longitude, thought it useless to do so, consequently he may have thought it useless to take a chronometer.

Tittmann can find no authority in Peary's book for assuming that he used the identical chronometer on which he adjusted the rating to the calculations. Below are extracts from Peary's book on the subject of time pieces.

"*North Pole,*" Page 103. "The period of day and night were measured only by our watches."

"*North Pole,*" Page 131. "It must be remembered that day and night were still determined only by the clock, as the ever circling sun had not yet set."

"*North Pole,*" Page 184. "Watch in hand."

"*North Pole,*" Page 263. "Watches."

"*Hampton's,*" Page 284. Sept. 1910. "During the first few hours of this march, in fact, my eyes were in such a con-

*North Pole, page 340.

dition that the figures on the dial of my Howard watch, which I had used in checking my observations at the pole were almost continually blurred."

Shackleton used pocket chronometers, as is the custom with sledge travelers. It would be strange under the circumstances if Peary should take such a heavy instrument as a ship chronometer when he did not need it. He does not say he did. It appears to be a part of the scheme of Mitchell and his clique to use this pretended rating to mislead Congress. In a scientific matter of this character Mr. Mitchell should not assume without producing his authority for the assumption, that the chronometer rating, which he says he used in his calculations, applies to the identical instrument used by Peary on the Polar Sea. These men, at these tricks, are Government officers. We have a perfect right to expose their misdoings and use the severest language in condemning their iniquity.

In brief then, the testimony of Mitchell is based on the following fabrications: Giving the sun's direction as over the 67½ meridian instead of the 70th; Using the 60th meridian time instead of the 70th (Columbia Meridian) time; Plotting a route at false angles; Locating Camp Jessup in an impossible place and garbling Peary's sentences in order to conform them to a spurious plotting and indicating that this plot supports instead of denies Peary's data. This is all peculiarly and emphatically misleading when accomplished by a judge to whom has been submitted a problem for impartial interpretation. Not a word is given in explanation of the difference between Peary and Mitchell. Yet this is all the proof existing that Peary reached the North Pole, an achievement the scientific results of which are said (in the record) to "reflect the greatest credit on the ability of Commander Robert E. Peary and render him worthy of the highest honors."

Computing latitude and longitude is the simplest problem. The observation of the sun for this purpose consists of its altitude only. Six figures which are read from the sextant "Degrees," "Minutes," and "Seconds" express it in detail. These six figures, are the only figures which Peary could have submitted

to these scientific gentlemen for their profound consideration. All other figures, except these six, that were used in connection with these gigantic computations were taken from tables in books which are available to everybody. Peary obtained no other figures in the Arctic, but these; if he used others, he took them with him in books. In view of this, no sensible person can truthfully say, that it is possible, without forgery, to make separate computations from the same altitude and bring results in longitude 70 degrees west, 135 degrees west, and 170 degrees west. It only requires a sheet of paper to show each computation in full. Not a fraction of the space or time that was used to conceal them. Furthermore, if this had been an honest and sincere attempt to promulgate the truth, some explanation would have been offered to the public accounting for such unheard of discrepancies, such unheard of admissions in attempts at navigation. A more astounding, and considering its source and its purposes, a more atrocious declaration is inconceivable.

A significant feature about all this is, that regardless of which longitude is selected, the 70th, the 137th or the 170th, for the location of the imaginary Camp Jessup, or in other words, regardless of how greatly in error Peary may have been in imagining his own location, it is assumed in each computation that he knew the exact location of the North Pole and marched right to it. But in order to make all the various conflicting computations and locations correspond chameleon-like to such a march, the direction of the sun is necessarily falsified, the points of the compass are disregarded, and the time of day is adjusted to suit each case.

Peary at that time was supposed to have been 36 days out from land. For the first time in those 36 days, observations are taken to ascertain his longitude, and to accurately fix his location, presumably to check with his dead reckoning. He had followed a serpentine course through a labyrinth of ice floes over 413 miles of latitude on the drifting polar ice. When he called a halt at 10 a. m., on April 6, 1909, he found that he was exactly where he supposed he was, and where he should be.

Henson says the North Pole flag was erected "just behind the igloo." It was once moved 150 ft. so as to be precisely in the proper place. But when Peary attempts a little closer accuracy for the demands of science, for proof of his achievement, for purposes of history, and consumes over a year's time for revision, he cannot get his separate computations to check with one another as to his location within *100 degrees of longitude.* A committee of three of the most eminent scientists in America said to be unsurpassed in skill, then undertake the task. A year later after reviewing these various computations, at their leisure, they cannot or do not make their own conclusions check out within 33 degrees of longitude with Peary's calculations. The anomaly, this absurd incongruity, was accepted by Congress and the President as evidence from a skillful navigator as proof that he was at the North Pole.*

One is justified in the belief that no person in his senses would have dared to present such a bare-faced conglomeration of impossibilities, unless he well knew beforehand that it made no difference what he submitted. If this was in truth the best that could be done with the data at hand, or if it were possible to conceive of there being a spark of truth back of it all, or possible even to think that these errors were genuine errors, then it surely was a stroke of genius on Peary's part not to have attempted any other observations on the trip, or at least, not to have published them. It was absolutely essential for the Geographic Society to conceal all of their alleged computations as their publication would unquestionably and inevitably have laid bare the fraud.

It is impossible to know the truth regarding the location of Camp Jessup. Peary saw no land, made no sounding. His only witness on the march (Henson) is against him. The only

*Note:—If Peary had been at the North Pole and had made a mistake of 100 degrees in his longitude, it would not have been strange or even unexpected, because the meridians in that high latitude are so near together that 100 degrees in longitude would be only a few miles in distance, and no distance at all at the Pole. But the significance is that no two computers using the same altidude or no one person who makes two computations from the same altitude should vary in their findings.

one positive fact that he presents to the public lies in these alleged observations near the Pole. If Peary were honest, there would be nothing for him to fear. He should give the public full information; every altitude, every calculation, every computation, everything in his possession, not hold anything back, but let scientific men everywhere examine the records if they wish, and give the world their opinion. The sun is true. It is always where it ought to be on schedule time. If a statement regarding it fails to check out with this schedule time of the sun the statement is wrong, view it as we may. Peary's talents as an explorer do not appear to be adapted to story writing. He does not seem to be able to carry in his mind a suitable poise and grasp of a complicated plot. The prediction may be safely ventured that future editions of the story "The North Pole," if any are issued, will be much revised.

I have now presented all the evidence there is, with reference to Peary's alleged observations near the Pole. I have commented on this evidence with sufficient clearness and amplitude to show its contradictory nature. I shall now endeavor by analysis to show with equal clearness that *all* of this evidence, whether furnished by Peary himself, or by the members of the Geographic Society in Peary's behalf is deliberate invention.*

*Note:—The writer of these pages professes no cleverness in matters of Navigation or Astronomy. He presents these features as they appear to him, hoping they may be clear to plain citizens. Readers who wish a scholarly dissertation on the subject of observations at the Pole are referred to Appendix No. 1 with the diagram attached written by the noted St. Louis scientist W.J. Armbruster.

CHAPTER VII

HOW PEARY OBTAINED HIS HONORS

It may appear like surplusage to produce further evidence to discredit Peary's narrative. But whatever may be our opinion from the disclosures already made, we must remember that different conclusions have been reached previously by other tribunals. The National Geographic Society in Washington, which is officered largely by distinguished Government officials, announced that a committee of three of its members investigated Peary's claims, and that after a scientific examination, they are of the opinion that Peary is the discoverer of the North Pole. This announcement was accepted as true and was followed on the part of the National authorities by action which resulted in reaching (whether rightfully or wrongfully) the same conclusion as did the Geographic Society. Because of this array of learning, authority and power in Peary's support no analyzer, however humble, need necessarily hesitate. Facts do not die. The record is still open for review.

The action of the Geographic Society will be laid bare, for when the proceedings, methods and motives that underlie their decision are examined, the whole affair appears unjust and scandalous. If this interpretation is correct, the Society it will be admitted deserves the condemnation of every honest geographical body in the civilized world. It matters not that their decision was, after a year's canvass by a powerful organization, lobbied through Congress and enacted into law. Congressional action changes nothing as to the truthfulness of the verdict. The character of the action was not elevated if the decision was an error. On the contrary the character of Congress was lowered by endorsing it.

However, the only question is whether these decisions were right or wrong. In view of the facts which this analysis has already disclosed, can there possibly be any just conclusion except the one we have herein announced, which is entirely based on Peary's own evidence? These alleged scientists have told the world that Peary is the discoverer of the North Pole. This analysis indicates that he is not. Can they refute the position taken here? Whether they can do so or not is an open question, but whether they have or not in the decree already made, may now be shown.

If Peary's claims are true, the National Geographic Society is in a position to establish the fact. They have every advantage in such a contest over an analyzer who has only Peary's narrative for his guide. They have the claimant and have access to all his documents. They have the power to establish beyond dispute, the justice of their decision. The spirit of patriotism, the enthusiasm of a great achievement, the glory of their flag is on their side. An analyzer is handicapped, because all that is obnoxious and tedious in such a controversy is reserved for him. However, if this analysis can be shown to be the result of cunning, or of an adroit twisting of the evidence to injure a deserving discoverer, the author deserves the execration of all honest men. On the other hand to be just, what shall be said if accusations of deception do in truth, lie at the door of the Geographic Society? In order to learn the truth, we shall undertake to review their action and the decision of the authorities in Washington, who later acted in Peary's behalf. Peary's book and the testimony before the Congressional Committee is all the evidence the world has, as to whether or not Peary reached the North Pole. The book has been partially reviewed in these pages. It is now essential to examine the transactions in Washington.

Sometime prior to October 1909, Peary was invited by the National Geographic Society of Washington D. C., a private organization, to present his evidence and proofs to them. He responded by sending a messenger, Mr. Nichols, with copies of

a portion *only*, of his log or diary, which portion strangely enough did not include his alleged travels north of the Bartlett Camp. This did not seem to satisfy the members of the committee. He was, therefore, invited to bring the rest of his material. (This correspondence is not published.) Peary then went to Washington with a trunk containing his instruments, and a hand satchel containing his papers, arriving in Washington in the forenoon of October 20, 1909. The trunk with the instruments arrived on another train late in the afternoon. Peary himself would not divulge to the Congressional Committee his movements during that day in Washington, but the following action taken by the managers of the National Geographic Society indicates Peary's actions.

"*At a meeting of the board of managers of the National Geographic Society, Wednesday morning, October 20, 1909, the records, observations and proof of Commander Robert E. Peary that he reached the pole April 6, 1909, were submitted to the Society. The records and observations were immediately referred to the Committee on research, with the direction that the chairman appoint a sub-committee of experts, of which he shall be a member, to examine records and report on them to the board. Mr. Henry Gannett, chairman of the committee on research, immediately appointed as the other members of the committee, Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, United States Navy,and O. H. Tittmann, Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. This committee of the society will personally examine the notebooks and original observations made by Commander Peary in his march to the pole and see all the papers as brought back from the field. The committee will report the results of its findings at a special meeting of the board to be called for that purpose."

How much of the day this action took is not known; but Peary, Gannett, Tittmann and Chester, as the testimony will show, met by appointment at Admiral Chester's house sometime in the afternoon, and later in the day when "it had become dark" they went to the depot, opened the trunk, took out some of the instruments for examination, but returned them to the

*Page 9, Test.

trunk, leaving others undisturbed. This is the extent to which the instruments were examined.

While they were at Chester's house, Peary submitted some "loose leaves" purporting to have been torn from his log book or diary, together with other loose leaves, said to contain his observations of the sun and computations thereon. After Gannett, Chester, and Tittmann had separately or collectively examined these "proofs" that afternoon in Chester's house, Peary again took the papers and they remained in his possession until they were submitted in a similar manner to the Sub-committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives about a year later. This brief so-called examination by these three men of Peary's "proofs" at Chester's house in the afternoon of October 20, 1909 and their alleged examination of the instruments at the depot later in the day, was absolutely all the knowledge, and all the evidence that they had as to whether or not, Peary had actually reached the North Pole.

The volume of data indicates that they could not, each of them, have even read it all in the time at their disposal, or made suitable comparisons and computations, nor could they have actually investigated these proofs. Nevertheless, they considered this examination sufficiently thorough for them to present to the managers of the National Geographic Society the following report:*

"Commander Peary has submitted to this sub-committee his original journal and records of observations, together with all his instruments and apparatus and certain of the most important of the scientific results of his expedition. These have been *carefully* examined by your sub-committee, and they are unanimously of the opinion that Commander Peary reached the North Pole on April 6, 1909. They also feel warranted in stating that the organization, planning, and management of the expedition, its complete success, and its scientific results reflect the greatest credit on the ability of Commander Robert E. Peary and render him worthy of the highest honors that the National Geographic Society can bestow upon him."

HENRY GANNETT.
C. M. CHESTER.
O. H. TITTMANN.

*Page 9, Test.

The foregoing report was unanimously approved by the managers, and immediately the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, Commander Robert E. Peary has reached the North Pole, the goal sought for many centuries; and whereas, this is the greatest geographical achievement that this society can have opportunity to honor: Therefore: Resolved, That a special medal be awarded to Commander Peary."

This is a sample of history in the making. These four men, at Admiral Chester's house, in those few hours in the afternoon of October 20, 1909, pretended to have "carefully" examined the records of the two year's expedition; to have investigated and made computations of Peary's various observations necessary for that purpose, checking them with all known astronomical data to ascertain their accuracy; to have compared his alleged speed with that of previous expeditions; and to have then proceeded to the depot and "carefully" examined the instruments. These self-selected judges, with the invited claimant as the only witness, in a few hours, considered, discussed and decided upon the merits of a bitterly contested case, over which a controversy unparalleled in acrimony was then raging in the press of the civilized world. Thousands of pages had been written, yet suppressing every vestige of the testimony or evidence before them, these men announced their own decision for the benefit of a waiting world and published it as that of a scientific organization. They not only decided that Peary reached the North Pole, but to show the public the thoroughness of their labors, they also decided that "we are warranted in stating that the organization, planning and management of the expedition, its complete success and its scientific results reflect the greatest credit on the ability of Commander Robert E. Peary, and render him worthy of the highest honors that the National Geographic Society can bestow upon him."

Bearing in mind the fact that all of Peary's so-called proofs which were examined by the Society were withheld from the public and even from Congress, there is one question which

it is proper to put to this distinguished Committee of the National Geographic Society. "What proofs did Peary furnish that justified you in proclaiming him the discoverer of the Pole? Can you name a single item that called for scientific investigation?" Mr. Gannett, Chairman of the Committee, says in his testimony that it was "Peary's journals, records of observations, his instruments and apparatus," not a word about "proofs." The truth is, there is nothing in Peary's "proofs" that calls for action by a scientific body; and no honest scientific body would have announced that he had reached the Pole, when they did not and could not know. Did the committee recompute Peary's figures from his observations? Every navigator knows that this is the simplest of problems. But whether these computations were found right, or wrong, they would prove nothing with respect to Peary's location. Was it his instruments, his sextant, compass or thermometer, which decided the Committee?

Peary traveled over the Polar Sea in company with a Negro and four Eskimos. No other person had any communication with him, or had any knowledge of what he did. These living witnesses such as they are, can tell their story, just as Peary can. Those who hear it may give it such value as they choose. Henson has told his story and it is a flat contradiction of Peary's. A lawyer could examine Henson, and if he were permitted or disposed to talk, some truth, no doubt, could be brought to light. If this lawyer understood the Eskimo language, he could examine the Eskimos and Peary himself with like results. As there is no one else who knows where the party went, or what they did, there is not a scintilla of evidence of any character whatsoever that can be produced as "*proofs.*" If Peary had made a sounding, which he did not; if he had said he discovered land, which he did not; these would have been facts subject to review by future explorers, and the truth in time might be known; but as the case now stands, there is not a particle of so-called proof that could not be compiled any where on the globe. Recomputing the records of his observations, which any one

could do, would be no proof of where he was. His instruments are no evidence of reaching the Pole, or of even being used. His diary, which could be written any where is no proof. What was this mysterious proof which the Geographic Society announced that the world must not see, lest it "stultify the national honor?" Everything, except the credibility of the published narrative is eliminated from consideration in ascertaining the truth of the discovery; and this must be judged by anyone who reads it.

In view of these facts, it is incumbent to say here that the National Geographic Society have perpetrated a monstrous wrong on the civilized world, and are equally culpable with Peary in their pretension that they have proofs, or even facts, requiring scientific consideration. In the end their representations are sure to react on them. Congressman Moore says:* "The report of the Geographic Society was plain. The three men who signed the report were better qualified than any Committee of Congress to pass upon Peary's instruments and records. These three men certified to an awaiting world that they had examined the records and instruments and found them true. Who were these three men? Independent Scientists, who dared to stake their reputations upon a falsehood, or upon a *superficial examination* of the facts?" These are pertinent questions and if these three men have actually done these things, that fact should fill the mind of any honest person with horror. They are all men in the government employ: Gannett is the Chief Geographer of the United States; Chester is an Admiral; Tittmann is Superintendent of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. They are familiar with every phase of such problems as were submitted to them. They knew the force which their declaration on such a subject would have upon the public mind and upon the Government. The reply is that these distinguished men have assumed the responsibility for the truthfulness of these claims, and of course they have a right to their opinions and a right to express them.

*Speech. Cong. Record, Mar. 22, 1910.

The distinguished members of this society of scientists who were supposed to sit in impartial judgment on Peary's claims for the benefit of the rest of mankind, have been publicly accused of being interested judges, and of the fact that their society was a contributor to Peary's venture, was interested in its success and recipient of his bounty. These accusations as far as known, have never been denied. These men have been publicly called upon by other members of the National Geographic Society to deny these charges. It seems strange that they have not replied. The present analysis indicates that their decision as to Peary's claim was not an impartial scientific conclusion, but a partisan one. The exposure made, if it is believed, will re-act upon them very speedily, and their acts in history will be determined thereby.

The utter worthlessness of this Committee's work as a scientific report can not be questioned by fair-minded men. A summary of the procedure establishes this fact. No evidence was given to the public of such nature as to enable scientists to review and pass judgment upon the correctness of the finding. Peary presented for inspection only certain alleged copies of his longitude observations with his computations thereon. None of these computations are given to the public. Disinterested scientists, therefore, cannot review them and tell the public whether or not either calculation is correct. Not a word of the evidence, that was submitted to the Sub-committee of the Geographic Society, saw the light again until over a year later when it was submitted to the Congressional Committee in March 4, 1910. The circumstances under which these three men assembled to examine these alleged proofs make their report, if it be not genuine, clearly fraudulent and wicked. But the truth will be seen by an examination of the testimony of Gannett, Tittmann, and Peary, all of whom appeared before the Subcommittee of Naval Affairs. Whatever its value, the report of the National Geographic Society is nevertheless the sole foundation, upon which the entire super-structure of Peary's claims and honors has been built. Upon this alone, many geographic

societies in Europe relied and acted. Whether or not the action of Congress was well founded can only be determined by a careful analysis of the Governmental investigation of Peary's claims. This I shall attempt to present in the following pages.

On March 4, 1910, public opinion was erroneously supposed by Peary's friends to be sufficiently crystallized to risk an attempt to obtain from Congress a promotion and an appropriation for Peary. Consequently, a bill was introduced for this purpose and proofs of Peary's achievement were supposed to be volunteered. On that date the Sub-committee of Private Bills of the Committee of Naval Affairs in the House of Representatives, assembled to hear the alleged proofs, and temporarily at least to see them. The chairman of this Committee was Thomas S. Butler; the members who figured most prominently at the hearing were Messrs. Roberts, Gregg and Macon. For the first time since Peary returned from the Arctic a bona-fide effort was apparently to be made to ascertain the truth or falsity of his claim. This Committee had two sittings nearly a year apart. We shall examine the testimony as it was presented to them.

At the first hearing two witnesses appeared, Tittmann and Gannett, both of whom were members of the committee of the National Geographic Society, who originally passed on Peary's claims. Mr. Tittmann first gave very brief testimony about soundings which was of no significance, excusing himself from further examination on the ground that he was due before the Appropriation Committee, and that Mr. Gannett who was present could give all the other facts. He did, however, make one statement that indicates to what extent he inquired into Peary's "proofs" and what value may be placed upon his decision as one of the judges of Peary's claim. He testified as follows:*

"*The Chairman.*—'Tell us all of the facts which, in your judgment, warranted the committee that examined him reaching the conclusion it did reach.'

*Page 5, Test.

"*Mr. Tittman.*—'Well, now as to the committee. When all this happened *I was in Europe;* when I came back I found I had been appointed on a committee of the National Geographic Society. That was not an official matter though, and *I was very busy and went only to the last meeting of that committee*, and at that meeting Capt. Peary showed me the actual observations, the astronomical observations that he made when he was at the Pole. One of the observations of the sun was made within about three miles of the Pole. He then continued in the same direction—my figures now are not, perhaps, quite accurate, because I do not remember the details very well. I think he went about ten miles beyond the Pole, and he was getting at a lower latitude again; he went then what we might call going to the eastward; if you had a map before you, you would see what I mean; he went to the eastward and there made some more *astronomical observations.* He showed me the *actual papers* on which he did this, and I asked him to explain it to me, so that I looked at his astronomical observations, saw the form in which they were kept and his reductions, and felt perfectly satisfied, as did other members of the committee who had an opportunity to go over the details that *I did not have, because I was very much occupied* with other matters.'

"*Mr. Gregg.*—'Those that he showed you, then, were they the original entries, made at the time?'

"*Mr. Tittmann.*—'Yes, made at the time on *loose slips of paper*!'"

The tenor of this testimony indicates that Tittmann took very little part in the investigation, leaving it almost wholly to Gannett and Chester.

He also, however, gave this remarkable testimony:*

"*Mr. Tittmann.*—'I think I have already stated that the line of soundings which Mr. Peary furnished us showed us, that he had been within five miles of the Pole; but besides that, I, of course, had knowledge, which was afterwards verified; that Mr. Peary's expedition differed from all previous expeditions in this, that when he got within striking distance of the Pole—that is, within about 140 miles of the Pole, he had with him a large party of men and Capt. Bartlett; that up to that time he had kept himself in absolute reserve, allowing the hard work. the pioneer work to be done by a younger man and a stronger man, and when he reached as I say, a point which I considered

*Page 2, Test.

within striking distance, his position was so different from any previous explorer who had ever gone—usually when they got to, well nobody had been so far before, anyhow, when the people did get there, they were single or exhausted or minus provisions, but Peary got within 140 miles of the Pole and had with him his sleds in perfect condition, himself in perfect condition, plenty of provisions and it was a holiday jaunt to go there, unless some accident happened, like a great rift, which he was not able to pass; so it would have been absurd if he had not gone there. His evidence of having been so far as that, of course need not be touched upon, because everybody knows that Bartlett and those men were with him."

Such concentrated wisdom as is compressed into the above paragraph, all in one sentence, is seldom published. Mr. Tittmann, it must be remembered, is one of three distinguished men who are enlightening the world! Mr. Gannett fully comprehended this, for he followed Tittmann on the stand and testified as follows:*

"*Mr. Gannett.*—'As Tittmann has so admirably set forth, it is hardly believable that a man would sit down within 130 miles of the North Pole, and do that *after* he had undertaken the uncertainties and dangers, and the risks to life, leaving outside the question of Peary's personality.'"

Here are fairly exemplified the deep thoughts of two of the three distinguished men who passed upon Peary's proofs. "It was a holiday jaunt" to go north 140 miles, says Tittmann, "so admirably set forth" says Gannett! It may be asked in all courtesy where did Mr. Tittmann get this astounding wisdom about polar exploration?

Such knowledge cannot be found in publications extant. Had Nansen comprehended these things, the map of the world would have been differently constructed. Nansen left the ship *Fram* far north on the Polar Sea to go still farther north accompanied by Johansen. He had many advantages over Peary. In the first place Peary's organization cannot be compared to Nansen's in efficiency, in system and orderly arrangement. Nansen exceeded all previous explorers in his "farthest north." His story and his pictures correspond, indicating a truthful

*Test. Page 15.

tale. His party struggled over polar ice as long as human endurance and hope held out, in a desperate attempt to make as much as "140 miles" north. It was impossible. After a strain and test for 25 days almost unexampled in history and covering 129 miles of northing, they abandoned the attempt in despair. Yet their achievement surpassed all others. "A holiday jaunt" says Tittmann, one of the judges; "admirably set forth" says a second judge; made in five days. "It would have been absurd if he had not gone there," says Tittmann. Dr. Cook after reading such phrases from these two distinguished scientists, calls them "Arm chair geographers."

Mr. Gannett testifies further:*

"*The Chairman.*—'Tell us in the plainest language what you saw and learned of the discovery, the reports you saw, the conclusions you reached and the reasons for your conclusions.'

"*Mr. Gannett.*—'Mr. Peary came from his home in Portland, Maine, and brought his records in a gripsack and his instruments in a trunk. First, he met the committee at the office of the Geographic Society and we appointed a meeting at the house of Admiral Chester, who was a member of the Committee. We simply sat down with him and read his journal from his original records; he had an original record in a little book, a note book, you know, at that time, and it had all the earmarks of being the original.'

'He read the journal over two or three days before Bartlett left him, we all read it together; we included in the readings two or three days which Bartlett was with him and from that time on to the pole, and all of the way back to Cape Columbia. We also had his astronomical observations recomputed, examined them, not recomputed for he had already computed them on these sheets. He had one sheet for a set of observations, and Admiral Chester recomputed them. I do not know whether Tittmann did or not, I do not remember; we had his line of soundings. The tidal observations I never saw.'"

He further said:

"I saw no longitude observations and my understanding is he didn't take any; I do not see why he should. He kept his direction by the compass and the direction of the sun at noon time, and his purpose was to go north."

*Page 7, Test.

Some testimony was given at the second hearing by Mr. Peary on the subject of this *note book* which Gannett said they read.* It is necessary to quote it here, although Peary did not appear until the later hearing.

"*Mr. Dawson.*—'Have you any objection to allowing the committee to see the original notes you made during this last journey, and during the observations in the immediate vicinity of the Pole?'

"*Mr. Peary.*—'I have not.'

"*Mr. Gregg.*—'Did you keep them in a book or on slips of paper?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'In a book.'

"*Mr. Dawson.*—'And since then you have taken them out of the book?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes, Sir.'"

Gannett's testimony then conflicts with Peary's and Tittmann's as to the shape of the original notes, when they were submitted to these three men. The testimony throughout the inquiry indicates that loose leaves only, were submitted to the Congressional Committee, which Peary said he tore from his diary when he returned to the ship. Gannett says that when he saw them they were in a book! Tittmann says they were loose leaves.

The following quotation illustrates still further the lack of value in Gannett's testimony and shows the superficial manner of Gannett's examination of Peary at Chester's home, as a self-appointed judge.†

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did he tell your committee what his equipment was on that dash?'

"*Mr. Gannett.*—'Well, he had two sledges.'‡

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'How many dogs?'

"*Mr. Gannett.*—'I think 36, it seems to me 36 or 32.'**

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'How many Eskimos?'

"*Mr. Gannett.*—'Two Eskimos.'***

In one place when Gannett appeared to be confused, Mr.

*Page 31, Test.
†Testimony Page 17.
‡Peary says 5. Ed.
**Peary says 40. Ed.
***Peary says 4. Ed.

Grosvenor, the editor of the National Geographic Society who was present in the room, tried to assist by volunteering to inject at that psychological moment some *expert* information—where Gannett's knowledge failed him.

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'How many days going back from the pole to Cape Columbia?'

"*Mr. Grosvenor* (*an expert*) answers (*for Gannett*).—'I think 16 days.' *'He was 52 days going and 16 going back.'**

Gannett, however, was quite familiar with another subject, and perfectly ready to inject it into the record. Even though the subject was out of place, immaterial and untrue, this fact indicates at least the bent of his mind. When Gannett was asked by Mr. Butler if he could have detected whether Peary's records were faked or not, replied as follows:

"*Mr. Gannett.*—'Well, it would depend upon a whole lot of things. Now any scientific man reading Cook's narrative sets him down as a faker, because his narrative don't tie together; he gets his midnight sun rising on the wrong day; his notes about it show he is traveling south instead of north and he gets the longitude to the minute when he couldn't get them within 10° all that sort of thing, you know. Now whether, of course, a man who knew more, if he attempted to fake, could avoid some of those things; but could he avoid them all?"

This same Mr. Gannett who so eagerly says that Cook could not tell his longitude within 10° had a moment before testified as follows in regard to Peary when asked about his observations for longitude: "I saw no longitude observations, and my understanding is he didn't make any. I do not see why he should. He kept his direction by the compass and the direction of the sun at noon time, and his purpose was to go north."

It is theoretically possible, that one may go from Cape Columbia to the North Pole without taking observations for longitude, or without even knowing the variation of his compass. But is it practical to do so? Would anyone attempt such a trip without this important knowledge, if he really wished to reach the North Pole and return? If one should start from land

*Peary says 36 going—31 days to Bartlett Camp—5 more to the Pole. Ed.

carrying 70th meridian time, shaping his course as near as possible due north, and occasionally thereafter by noon observations ascertain his local time, he might tell by the difference between his local and his 70th meridian time on which side of that meridian he then was. Knowing this much, he might with some degree of knowledge reshape his compass course northward from the meridian he was then on, or he could possibly again reach or cross the 70th meridian. In this way he might zigzag his way northward. But as he advances northward the distance between the meridians constantly grows less; the errors in minutes of time multiply rapidly in miles, and the difficulties of obtaining correct local time gradually increase; so that this method of navigation might, before he was aware, get him on the opposite side of the globe. Nevertheless, with sufficient skill to continue to make northings, regardless of any meridian he would, of course, eventually reach the Pole. But what does this prove except its possibility? No navigator who sincerely desired to reach the North Pole and return would adopt such methods. A navigator would plan to know his position and the variation of his compass constantly in order to make as straight a line, north and south as possible to save both distance and time.

In other words, the gist of this testimony of Gannett's would appear to be that Peary could tell his exact longitude, without any observations, and march in a straight line directly north to the Pole on the 70th meridian, but that Cook who was traveling on the magnetic meridian 96° west, where the compass is constant could not tell his longitude even by observations "within 10 degrees." Hardly anything could expose the bias of this man (self-appointed one of the judges who passed on Peary's claims) better than this voluntary injection into his answer the uncalled for and immaterial matter showing a prejudice against Cook, unsuppressed and undisguised. This gratuitous fling at an absent claimant (Cook) by a witness supporting his own decision as a judge, does not of course affect any truthful testimony he may have given, but it would seem to

indicate that he was temperamentally unfitted for the position to which he was self-selected.

Gannett further testified that no effort was made by the Geographic Committee to examine anyone but Peary, although many of those who went on the expedition were available. Henson was with Peary constantly on the Polar Sea. He also kept a diary.

It soon became evident to the naval committee at their first hearing that Peary's friends did not propose to submit any original papers, although they professed to be willing to do so, providing the contents could be kept secret, which was obviously impossible in a public hearing. This Star Chamber suggestion was instantly objected to by some members of the Committee, consequently the hearing was suddenly terminated, and the Committee did not again convene for the purpose of continuing the examination, until nearly a year thereafter.

Meanwhile additional missionary work appeared necessary on Peary's part if anything satisfactory was to be expected from Congress. A more efficient lobby was at once organized, and after about ten months a sufficient number of votes was secured to carry the measure. Peary's friends were apparently ready to submit to the Congressional Committee such data as were demanded. Consequently, the Sub-committee of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives resumed its sitting on January 7, 1911, for the purpose of examining whatever "proofs" Peary and his friends had to submit.

At the second hearing Peary was the principal witness. He was supported briefly by Tittmann who simply presented a computer from his department named Hugh C. Mitchell who testified as to a diagram he had drawn, and to computations that he and Duval had made. Admiral Chester, the third member of the Geographic Committee was absent from the country. Mr. Butler, the chairman, Mr. Bates, who introduced the bill for Peary's promotion, and Mr. Englebright, appeared very friendly to Peary's interests. At some stages of the proceedings it seemed that obstructions were created in order to

exclude some facts from the record. Mr. Macon opposed the bill and subjected Peary to some severe grilling. History is greatly indebted to Mr. Roberts for getting into the record much valuable information which, but for him, would have probably never seen the light. With courteous persistency and skill, he drew from an unwilling witness many facts valuable to the history of this case, and to those who may wish to know the truth.

This examination was in some respects peculiar. Peary, the claimant was not merely the principal witness, he was the *only* witness as to facts of observation. If he chose to say that he traveled on a certain day a certain number of miles, that the day was clear, the wind fair, the ice smooth, the dogs fresh, the temperature just right for easy sledging, or in any other way to describe conditions to suit himself, no witness was called to verify or to contradict him, and nothing was placed in the record except such information as he himself furnished on these subjects. When Peary said he took an observation at noon, June 6, Henson had he been there, would probably have said as he did in *The World's Work* that it was not true,—that no matter where they were on that day at noon, *no observation was taken or could have been* taken, as the sun was not seen that day. When Peary said he started out on a trip after 6 p. m., on the 6th of April, and made a journey of ten miles and did not return until 6 a. m. on the 7th, being absent twelve hours, and then immediately started on a second journey 8 miles out and back, 6 hours more, or 18 hours altogether, Henson would have said that Peary was not absent from Camp Jessup on the 6th at all, and but one hour on the 7th, or during the whole 30 hours at that camp. When Peary said that Camp Jessup was 3 miles from the Pole and he made these excursions in different directions as a matter of surety in hitting the Pole, Henson would have said that Peary gave orders on the 7th, that the North Pole flag, be shifted about 150 feet from its first location to conform to the result of a more accurate series of observations, that it was finally raised "just behind the igloo" as the

exact location of the North Pole. Henson would probably have contradicted Peary on every essential point, as to hours and distance traveled each day, the weather and ice conditions, etc., for the entire five days after leaving Bartlett Camp.* This would have been (as it is in Henson's articles) almost conclusive evidence that Peary's whole story of reaching the Pole is probably a creation.

It is impossible that history will be finally made by recorded testimony so constructed. While there is in this record no testimony of opposing witnesses, it could not be expected that Peary would appear before the Committee to show them he did not go to the Pole. On the contrary, it is obvious that he would offer only such evidence as would tend to establish his claim, for that was his purpose in appearing before them. If it were the truth which was wanted, instead of a favorable record, Henson could have been called—and also Bartlett, Pritchard, Whitney, Borup, McMillan, and Francke. They were all available and had they been properly examined, no doubt the truth on many points could have been evolved.

It is not proposed at this time to check Peary's statements with Henson or others who have contradicted him in other publications, but only to check him with himself. The only positive light that could be expected to be extracted from Peary was as to whether or not he was testifying truthfully. If in the slightest degree it can be discovered that he was falsifying, that he was attempting to support an evidently concocted story, his testimony *all* falls to the ground as absolutely worthless, and the whole plot should be condemned as a fraud. Peary appeared before this Sub-committee as a voluntary witness to tell his story and present his alleged proofs. It was his case. But it does not impress one who reads the testimony that Peary was frank and candid, except when narrating facts unknown to others, he seemed reserved and under restraint. It was important that the Sub-committee of Naval affairs should know the basis of the decision of the Geographic Society, and how

*Chapter 3.

thorough an investigation had been made. If it had been a genuine affair, above-board and honest, Peary would undoubtedly have been only too glad to have it all in the record, but his manner, his poor memory, and lack of candor indicated a desire to conceal. Mr. Roberts struggled hard at times to get him to make positive statements. To illustrate Peary's attitude a few pages will be quoted in full:*

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Now, there is one point I forgot when I was asking some questions before. I would like to go into examination of your records made by the Geographic Society's committee, if you have no objection? I would like to have from you just what was said and done.

'Let me premise that by asking you this question: Did you ask, directly or indirectly, the Geographic Society to pass upon your record? In other words, was the initiative taken by you to get some reports on the records of your trip?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'It came from other parties; you were invited by the Geographic Society to present your records?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I was.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'I understand you first sent them through a Mr. Nichols, a statement of some sort, sent it from Portland or somewhere in Maine. Is that the fact?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I sent them papers; yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Do you object telling us what those papers were?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Well, I will suggest as to that, that the members of that sub-committee who had those papers—and it is probably on their records—could give that information with absolute accuracy. I don't know that I have a memorandum of what those papers were.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'I would say in reply to that, that we sought those papers from that committee last spring, and they declined to give them to us on the ground that they were under a certain injunction as to secrecy and could not give them out. That is why I asked you about them.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I would prefer that that question would be taken up with the sub-committee.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'I am not asking you as the sub-committee, but whether you sent them?'

*Page 128 Test.

"*Capt. Peary* (*continuing*).—'As to their record, the record of what was sent to them, and what their examination was.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Have you any record of what you sent by Mr. Nichols?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I cannot say whether I have or not; I will look and see.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You knew at that time, of course, that there was a question looming up in the public mind as to the truth of the claims made by Dr. Cook, and also that there was some question in the public mind as to whether you had obtained the Pole.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'The controversy was on.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You knew a controversy was on at the time you were asked to submit your proofs to the Geographic Society?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'In reply to that request of the Geographic Society you sent them something by Mr. Nichols?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'And you do not wish to tell us now what it was?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I could not tell you, that I know of, now.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'And you did not keep any copy of it?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'And I would prefer, as I said, that the question as to what was said to the committee and what action they took would be put to the committee.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'As long as you have not copies of it and, as I understand it, you do not want to trust your memory to tell us just what you sent, we will go on a step. Did the Geographic Society's committee act upon that information you sent by Mr. Nichols at that time?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'How far they acted I can not tell you offhand.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'What did you next hear from that committee, after sending them those documents or that information or whatever it was that you did send?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I cannot say that I heard from the committee, except a request to come on to that committee.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'That is, that you come on, that was the request?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I come on and meet the committee.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'How did you get that request?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I can hardly say whether by wire or letter, and I do not recall from whom the request came.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Was there anything in that request to come down to give you the idea that what you had already sent was not sufficient to satisfy them?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Not that I recall; no.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'I do not know that it is really pertinent to the thought, but I will ask you the question and you can answer it or not: What did you think, after having sent down a statement to the committee, when they requested you to come and bring your originals?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I thought when I sent my material to the committee that I would come before the committee later with my instruments and my notebooks.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'That is, then you did not expect that the data that you sent by Mr. Nichols would be sufficient——

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Because it was not all of my records.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did it purport to be a part of the record?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'It purported to be only a part, and put them on notice——

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I was ready to appear personally before them.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'There was a statement of that sort contained in it, was there?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That would be my recollection. I know the idea was that I was ready to appear before them.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You got a request or an invitation to come down. Do you recollect how that was worded; what they wanted you to do?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I do not, but probably I have the communication, whether a telegram or a letter.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'In response to that you came down?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I did.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'And what did you bring with you?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I brought with me my instruments and the material that I have here to-day.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did you bring any more than you have shown the committee thus far?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I brought all of my photographs, or nearly all of them, and, I think my negatives. I am not sure of that.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'What time did you reach the city, Mr. Peary?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I could not say.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did you get here in the morning?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I came from Boston, I should say, on the Congressional Limited, but what time I got in I could not say.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'If you had luck, and did not get hung up on the river, you would get here the next morning?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes; I got here sometime the next day.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'What did you do when you arrived in the city; where did you go?'

"*Capt.. Peary.*—'I do not recall what my movements were.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Perhaps, I will ask some leading questions, as the lawyers say, and suggest in my question the answer. You went to the Geographic Society's rooms sometime in the forenoon?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I do not remember when I went there. The members of the board can tell.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'It was that same day you got in?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You went to the Geographical Society's rooms?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No; I think not. The Geographic Society's rooms.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Yes; on Sixteenth Street.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I cannot say.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Well, let me ask this question; Where did you meet the committee that had been appointed to investigate?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'The meeting of the committee was at Admiral Chester's house.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'No; where did you meet them? I am not asking the place of the meeting of the committee, but where did you meet the committee, or any of its members?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'There, as I recall it. The members of that committee can tell you.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'I would like to have the best recollection you have about when you first saw any of the members of the committee and where.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That can be put down. I will endeavor to answer that——

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'No; I want you to get your recollection now.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I do not recall about that, about my meeting any members of the committee.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You would not want to say that you did not meet two of the members of the committee at the room of the Geographical Society, would you?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I would not want to say I did nor did not.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Well, we will go a step further. You did finally go to the house of Admiral Chester?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I went to the house of Admiral Chester.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'And three members of that sub-committee were there with you?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'They were; yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Or arrived soon after you arrived?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You are not certain just how you all got there?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Can you give us anything definite as to the time of day you got there?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No; I could not.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Before lunch or after?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You could not tell that?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Can you recall how long you were there?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Until sometime in the evening.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'What did you do while there with the committee? I want to find out how this examination of the proofs was made. This is what I am trying to get at, Mr. Peary.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'There again, as the members of the committee are accessible, I would prefer to have them take that up.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'No; I want to have your recollection, if you can give it.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I recall that I was there at Admiral Chester's house with the members of the committee, and some others, I think, came in in addition to the members of the sub-committee and I remember, too, that I was there until in the evening; I could not say how late.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Have you exhibited to the sub-committee that original memoranda that you have shown us? Did they read it?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'This book?'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Yes; that you have shown us.'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I think that is covered in the hearing of yesterday or the day before.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'That you exhibited it to that committee?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I exhibited it to the committee.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'And they read it?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'How much the different members of the committee read I cannot say.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'And you submitted the data of your astronomical observations?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I had there.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You did submit at that time?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That is my impression. I had it there with me, and I presume they saw portions of it, perhaps all of it.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did they verify any of the computations in your presence; that is, figure over again the necessary computations?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'The only thing that I can say is that I think Prof. Gannett was making some figures. Whether he carried out the full computations or not I cannot say.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Do you recall Admiral Chester going over the astronomical computations?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I remember Admiral Chester having a chart showing the projection of the sun.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'How many hours would you say, as the best estimate you can give, you were there with that committee?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Well, I should say that I was there the greater portion of the day.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'I don't know that we have it here. Do you recall when it was that you were there? Do you recall the month or the day?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'It was some time in October, I should say.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did you bring with you to Admiral Chester's house, your instruments?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Where were they?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'They were at the station.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did the committee see those instruments?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'They did.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did they see them? Where did they see them?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'At the station.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did you go with them?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I did.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Do you recall what time you got to the station?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No sir; I do not, except it was pretty well along in the evening.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'*It was after dark*?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'*It was after dark.*'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'When you got to the station what did you or the committee do with regard to the instruments?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I beg your pardon, what was that?'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'First, how did the instruments come down?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'They came in a trunk.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Your trunk?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'After you reached the station and found the trunk what did you and the committee do with regard to the instruments?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I should say that we opened the trunk there in the station.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'That is, in the baggage room of the station?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Were the instruments all taken out?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I could not say. Members of the committee will probably remember that better than I.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Was any test of those instruments made by any member of the committee to ascertain whether or not the instruments were accurate?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I could not say. I should imagine that it would not be possible to make tests there.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Were those instruments ever in the possession of the committee other than the inspection at the station?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Not to my knowledge.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Has this original memorandum you read from ever been left in the hands of the committee?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Have they ever had copies of it?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes; I think so.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'When did they get copies?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I cannot say.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Before or after they had made a report to the society?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'That I could not say.'

The foregoing indicates how difficult it was to get positive

statements into the record, but some such were obtained nevertheless. Peary testifies (page 76)—as follows:

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Capt. Peary, when you returned from your dash the first people you saw were those at the ship?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes, Sir.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'You, of course, told them of the trip?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No; I did not, I did not go into any details in regard to the trip.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did you tell them you had reached the Pole?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I told Bartlett; no one else.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'I recall reading the papers that on the way from the place where the ship wintered, somewhere on the return journey, you met some sportsman. Was it Whitney?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I met Whitney at Etah, down in the whale sound region.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did you say anything to him about reaching the Pole?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'No, Sir.'

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'Did he make any inquiry of you?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'I do not think he did. I do not recall.'"

The above statement that he told no one but Bartlett about reaching the Pole may be true as a matter of fact, but it cannot be reconciled with the following taken from Peary's book *North Pole*, page 325-326:

"Borup also, with the aid of the Eskimos, built at Cape Columbia a permanent monument, consisting of a pile of stones formed round the base of a guide-post made of sledge planks, with four arms pointing true north, south, east, and west—the whole supported and guyed by numerous strands of heavy sounding wire. On each arm is a copper plate, with an inscription punched in it. On the eastern arm is, 'Cape Morris K. Jessup, May 16, 1900, 275 miles;' on the southern arm is, 'Cape Columbia, June 6, 1906;' on the western arm is, 'Cape Thomas H. Hubbard, July 1, 1906, 225 miles;' on the northern arm, 'NORTH POLE, APRIL 6, 1909, 413 miles.' Below these arms in a frame covered with glass to protect it from the weather, is a record containing the following:

PEARY ARCTIC CLUB NORTH POLE EXPEDITION, 1908.

S. S. Roosevelt, June 12, 1909. This monument marks the point of departure and return of the sledge expedition of the Peary Arctic Club, which in the spring of 1909 ATTAINED THE NORTH POLE.

The members of the expedition taking part in the sledge work were Peary, Bartlett, Goodsell, Marvin,* McMillan, Borup, Henson.

The various sledge divisions left here February 28 and March 1 and returned from March 18 to April 23.

The Club's Steamer Roosevelt wintered at Cape Sheridan, 73 miles east of here.

R. E. Peary, U. S. N.

Com. R. E. Peary, U. S. N. Comdg. Expedition.
Capt. R. A. Bartlett, Master of Roosevelt.
Chief Engr., Geo. A. Wardwell.
Surgeon, J. Goodsell.
Prof. Ross G. Marvin, Assistant.
Prof. D. B. McMillan, Assistant.
George Borup, Assistant.
M. A. Henson, Assistant.
Chas. Percy, Steward.
Mate, Thomas Gushue.
Bosun, John Connors.
Seaman, John Coadey.
Seaman, John Barnes.
Seaman, Dennis Murphey.
Seaman, George Percy.
2nd Engr., Banks Scott.
Fireman, James Bently.
Patrick Joyce.
Patrick Skeans.
John Wiseman.

"On the 18th McMillan and Borup with five Eskimos and six sledges had departed for the Greenland coast to establish depots of supplies in case my party should be obliged to make tidal readings at Cape Morris Jessup. I, therefore, at once started two Eskimos off for Greenland with a sounding apparatus and a letter *informing McMillan and Borup of our final success.*"

Borup and McMillan understood what the information was, which that letter (sent to them on the Greenland coast) contained for Borup in his book says he understood it perfectly.† Is this telling someone else besides Bartlett? Further, Borup and those men whose names were attached to the record in that glass case at Cape Columbia certainly, knew what "*North Pole April 6, 1909, 413 miles*" meant! And they also knew what the record meant by the words: "This monument marks the point of departure and return of the sledge expedition of the Peary Arctic Club, which in the spring of 1909 *attained the North Pole.*" Here is clearly a conflict of thought on the part of Peary, indicating a lapse of memory. Furthermore, Whitney did not return to civilization for weeks after Peary. He left

*Drowned April 10, returning from 86° 38′ N. Lat.
†Page 233. *A Tenderfoot with Peary.*

the *Roosevelt* at North Star Bay enroute home. Whitney says that on his return to civilization he obtained his first information that Peary claimed to have gone to the Pole. He says that no one of the crew ever mentioned the subject either at Etah, or while he was on the *Roosevelt.*

I am quite familiar with all that Peary has written on this subject, and I believe it possibly true that he kept this matter a secret until nearing civilization. Possibly he and Bartlett did not have their full plans entirely worked out until that time. But if Peary had actually been to the Pole, it was a most remarkable procedure. It was well known that his objective point was the North Pole. He had a ship built for that purpose, he had spent a winter at Cape Sheridan preparing for it. Men were engaged to accompany him for that purpose, without promise of compensation but simply for glory. Was it not strange that after having succeeded and returned safely, he would not tell it to McMillan, Borup, or Goodsell, or any of the others, or that Henson, or the Eskimos did not disclose it? It would have been natural for those Danish Eskimos who shouted so grandly at the sight of the American flag at the apex of the world, to have shouted then. What answer was given to those on board when asked how far north they had been? Did they all say nothing, or what did they say? This surely has a strange look.

But to return to the hearing. At the second sitting Peary and his friends volunteered to submit what they designated as proofs. These consisted of loose sheets of paper said to have been torn from a diary made on the Polar Sea. Some of the entries are said to have been made on the date of the event, and some the day after, "none later." Some entries purporting to have been made on one day show that three different kinds of lead pencils were used to make the entry for that day. The matter, condition, and appearance of the entries are suspicious. Peary testifies that he wrote up his diary every day in the igloo immediately after eating his meal of pemmican, which pemmican he said was "nothing but beef suet or tallow," that he ate

it with his hands and then wrote up the diary with his hands in that greasy condition; yet the sheets of paper submitted appeared new and perfectly clean. When finishing his examination of Peary, Mr. Roberts said:* If members of the committee care to, I would like to have the book examined particularly with reference to its condition and state. It shows no finger marks or rough usage, a very cleanly kept book."

Another condition of those sheets was brought out as follows:†

"*Mr. Roberts.*—'It seems rather strange that he had such an assortment of pencils there. *Three pencils.* Those entries were all made contemporaneous? Made the same day?'

"*Capt. Peary.*—'Yes, Sir.'"

At this juncture the chairman, Mr. Butler, evidently noticing the embarrassing situation, volunteered the following support, immediately after the above answer.

"*Mr. Butler.*—'We have your word for it, and we have these observations to show that you were at the North Pole. That is the plain way of putting it, your word and your proofs. To me as a member of this committee, I accept your word; but your proofs I know nothing at all about.'"

Then Mr. Bates came to the rescue by saying "And you have Bartlett's statement as far as he went." This seemed to smooth the ruffled waters for a time.

Another significant feature in this diary is, that it is profuse in matters of minor importance, all the way along the alleged journey north. But when interest was centered by the committee on what Peary recorded during the 30 hours of his alleged stay at the Pole, it was found that only blank sheets represented those days. Peary testified:‡ "I made no entry in my diary for two days, for the 7th and 8th of April." Mr. Roberts reads from Peary's diary:** "April 6, forty-third day, twenty-seventh march,' the record covers two pages and has a marginal entry and additional writing. Then

*Page 84, Test.
†Page 32 Test.
‡Page 43 Test.
**Page 84 Test.

follows two loose leaves. Without careful reading I cannot say whether or not they are part of that day's record. Then follows two blank pages. 'Wednesday, April 7, forty-fourth day, first return march.' No record on that day. None on the next page. None on next page. None on next page. Then comes 'April 8, forty-fifth day, second return march' no record,"

What interpretation is to be made of this? Here is surely the equivalent of a play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. It is a play of a trip to the North Pole, a profuse record filled with garrulous non-essentials until it reaches the "*goal of Centuries.*" Then there is nothing! All silence! Blank pages! The safest plan for Peary was to say nothing. *He said nothing.* Mitchell who followed Peary on the stand was not so wise. He said things, and made a Diagram and plotted a route which is as herein before shown, fully as disastrous to him and the cause he was espousing as are Peary's statements. We have now outlined the important features of the testimony.

The sub-committee reported favorably on the bill to honor Peary. In due time it was called up for discussion in the House of Representatives and was passed, 34-153. Several members spoke in favor of its passage, but only one against it, Mr. Macon, who reviewed the testimony with great accuracy and succinctness. His handling of the scientific features was so concise and comprehensive that it will repay anyone to read it.* All who spoke favoring the bill, excepting Mr. Hobson, appealed solely to the patriotism of the members. No one attempted to show that the alleged proofs themselves established the claims. Mr. Roberts who so thoroughly examined Mr. Peary and filled the record with valuable evidence, voted for the bill. The newspapers in his state criticised him severely for the delay he was causing by his persistent examination. In his speech he criticised and excoriated the members of the National Geographic Society for their decision, after such a flimsy superficial investigation as was shown to have been made by them. But, believing the Diagram and plotting produced by Tittmann

*Appendix 3.

and Mitchell to be genuine and conclusive, he voted for the bill.

Mr. Hobson made an abortive attempt at scientific discussion, which is worthy of notice for the shameless audacity it displays, if for nothing else. Early in his speech, he vouched for his own wisdom by saying "now as to an artificial horizon and the low altitudes the gentleman from Arkansas complained of—I have used an artificial horizon! I may add that I have helped to navigate a squadron across the Atlantic Ocean! It would take time to make a full explanation. But I will tell you gentlemen of the house, that you can no more fake such records as Peary made than you could fly! He made three complete sets of observations in the proximity of the Pole, and they could not possibly be faked."

Hobson continued:—"When his (Peary's) chronometer said it was noon, he knew the sun was in the south, and he headed the opposite direction." This statement is substantially a repetition of the testimony of Gannett, and is most astounding coming as it does from an ex-naval officer and a geographer. It is more misleading and deceptive than direct falsehood as it presumes to be scientific. Scientists say that without known positions of longitude one cannot plot a route over moving ice. But Hobson's and Gannett's idea of navigation is that one needs neither latitude nor longitude, all he needs is a watch and the sun. Is this the whole truth? Hobson says:—"His chronometer was set for noon time of that meridian (the 70th) each day. When his chronometer said it was noon, he knew the sun was south." This could only be true to the extent that Peary knew his meridian, his longitude. But he took no observations for longitude or for variation of his compass. He did not even pretend to know his longitude on a single day on the trip north. He assumed he was on the 70th meridian.

A simple illustration will explain the absurdity of Hobson's position. Suppose at Cape Columbia on the 70th meridian at noon, Peary set his watch at 12 o'clock when the sun was on that meridian and exactly south. Suppose he then traveled directly

west for 24 hours, or until his watch again showed noon, would he still be on the 70th meridian, and would the sun be south because his watch said noon? He would not, of course, be expected to go directly west or east, and he could not with certainty, go directly north. But suppose when he marched northward zigzagging in every direction, now turning to the east or to the west to escape an open lead, or to cross a pressure ridge, he unintentionally got to the east or west of the meridian to which his time was set (70th). The sun would not be in the south because his time piece said it was noon. It would be noon if he was on the meridian to which his time was set, but nowhere else. It would not be noon where he was, *i. e.* it would not be local noon, neither would the sun be in the south. If he should then continue his navigation on the Hobson theory and "headed in the opposite direction" he would never again know where he was on the journey. It is preposterous to say that knowing only one factor, *viz.*, the time by his watch, set to the 70th meridian and ignoring all other factors, he would know the sun was south. If he did not know the local time, he would not know what meridian he was on, and if he was off the 70th meridian the sun would not be south, when his watch indicated noon. There is no evidence that Peary took a chronometer with him after he left the ship. He may have set one or more of his watches by the ship chronometer, or to Greenwich time, the others to Cape Columbia or 70th meridian time. The whole truth should be stated.

Such remarks are presented by an ex-naval officer and the chief geographer of the United States as testimony to guide a government in reaching a verdict on a question of world-wide importance, and to induce it to grant a pension and a title. Hobson says you cannot fake a set or sets of observations. He should then explain why a navigator takes an altitude of the sun. What can his purpose be if he does not know beforehand that that is all the data he needs excepting possibly atmospheric conditions and what his books contain, and chronometers give, to determine his position? And how does he happen to know

this, if it be not obtainable by anyone else? And could he not fake a latitude knowing the necessary altitude, or fake an altitude knowing the necessary latitude? If he cannot do this he cannot compute his latitude when he has an altitude of the sun. Hobson obviously covets the notoriety that recklessness gives him.

Peary's testimony is that he took only five sets of observations for latitude, and none for longitude on his journey from Cape Columbia and return. He says he took one on April 5 in latitude 89° 25′, and others April 6 and 7 near the Pole. He testifies that none were taken to correct the variation of the compass, and that "the direction of the compass was fairly constant there" and that he would consider it a waste of time to obtain longitude. In this view he is supported by Gannett and Hobson. It is thought by other scientists that a navigator starting north from Cape Columbia would soon be lost, if he did not know the exact variation of his compass as he moved from point to point. If this be true, one who attempts this trip without this knowledge is certainly open to the suspicion that he can have no intention of going any definite distance.

Nansen, Shackleton, Markham and other explorers considered it necessary to check up the variation of the compass at every possible opportunity. Shackleton took three compasses for better facilities, one a prismatic compass, one azimuth to record the variations, and one to steer by. He writes* on his journey towards the South Pole "Observations for variation were taken whenever we took a latitude observation." †"The chronometer watches taken were rated before leaving, and on the return, and the error was only 8 seconds. All bearings, angles and azimuths were taken with the theodolite. Variation was ascertained by means of a compass attached to the theodolite, and the steering compasses were checked accordingly. At noon each day the prismatic compasses were placed in the true meridian and checked against the theodolite compass and the

* pp 429 Vol. 2, *Heart of the Antarctic.*

† Vol. 3, *Heart of the Antarctic.*

steering compasses." When Shackleton reached 82° 12′ south latitude his course thenceforward was due south on the 160th meridian. His compass variation at that point was 162°. When he reached 87° 22′ south, his compass variation was 174°. This indicates that in a march of only 5° 10′ practically due south his compass variation changed 12° 0′ or two degrees variation to every degree of latitude. In some places on the earth's surface the variation is more radical than this.

Compare such a candid, intelligent statement as the foregoing with the oft heralded "Peary System," which is in substance:

"I took no observations for longitude, considered them useless.

"I took no observations for compass variation.

"I took no chart, and made none of my journey.

"Yet I went straight north and straight back in the same tracks over the ice which was drifting strongly to the east all the time."

Dr. Cook claims to have traveled north practically on the 96th meridian, which is the north magnetic meridian. His compass, therefore, was possibly constant at 180° variation all the way, but it was different with Peary, on the 70th meridian.

Nansen let his watches run down on April 13, 5 days after turning south and could not accurately get his longitude. He did the best he could without them by dead reckoning for those five days, yet when he reached land he found that he had erred 8 degrees; yet Peary says he did not test his variation on the journey.

Diagram 13 opposite page 244 shows the relative positions of Cape Columbia, and the Geographic North Pole and the Magnetic North Pole.

There can be no area on the earth's surface more difficult to navigate by compass than that near the North Pole, when the traveler is on a geographic meridian distant from the magnetic meridian; there is no place where it is more important to know each day, the variation of the compass. Such a route is the one from Cape Columbia to the North Pole. Shackleton,

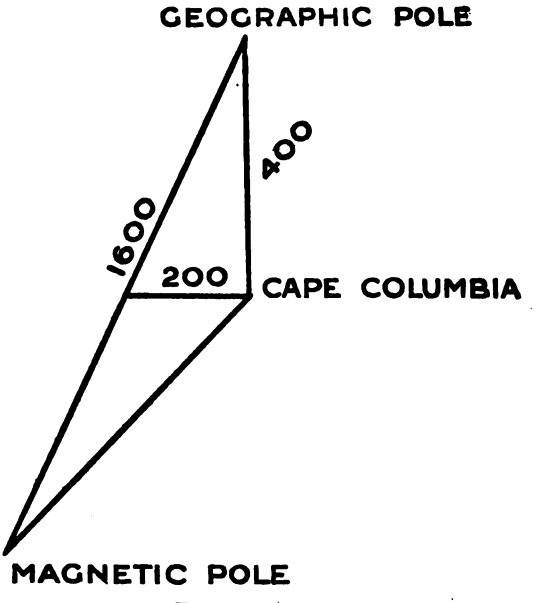
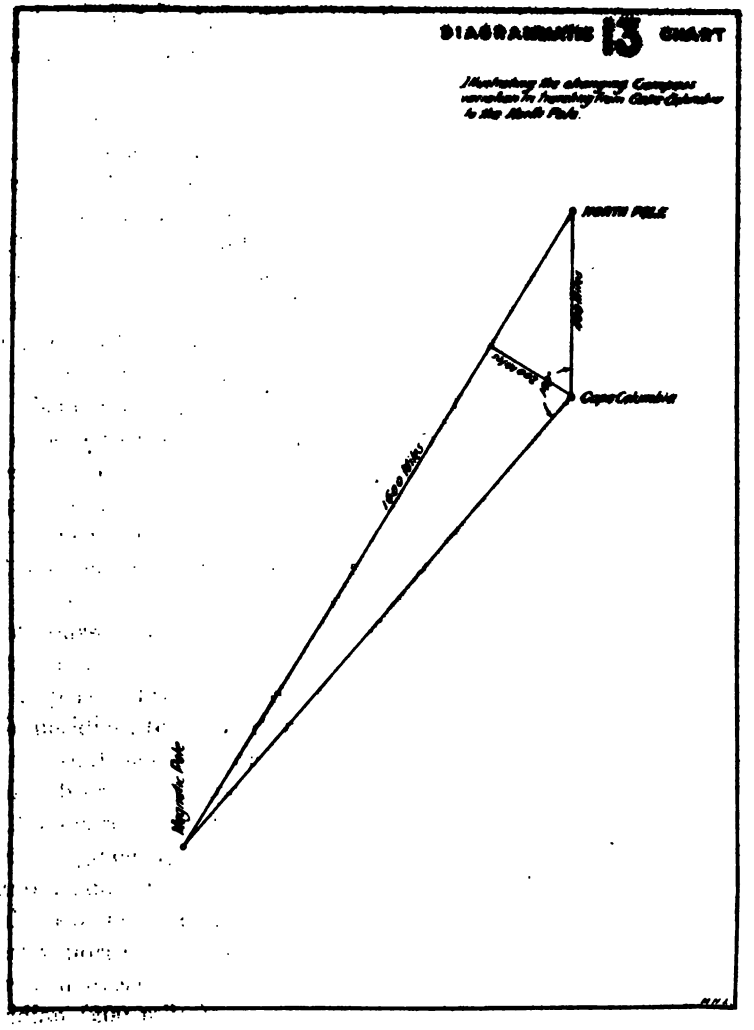
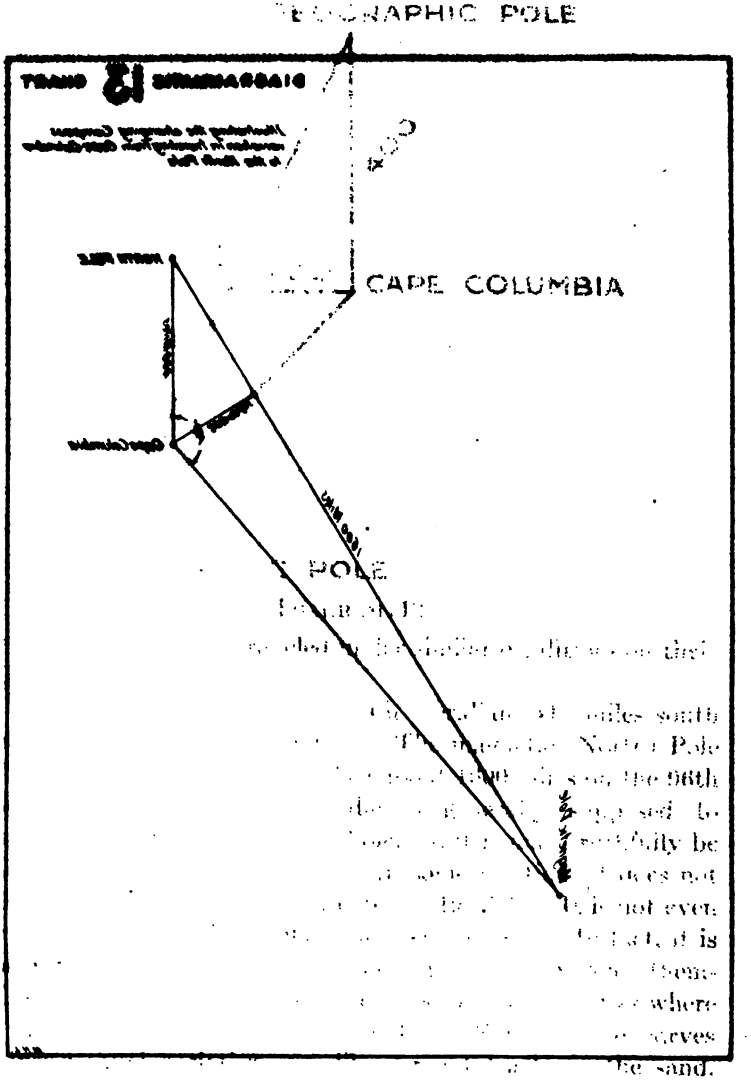


DIAGRAM 13

Scott and Amundsen traveled under similar conditions on their routes south.

Cape Columbia is on the 70th meridian, 413 miles south from the geographic North Pole. The magnetic (North) Pole is south from the geographic Pole about 1600 miles on the 96th meridian. The magnetic needle is generally supposed to point directly to the magnetic Pole. But it may truthfully be said that it generally does not. In some locations it does not point even approximately to the magnetic Pole. It is not even constant, in any one locality, from year to year. In fact, it is constantly changing (excepting perhaps over the Poles themselves). Hence the variation is only known in localities where it has been ascertained by navigators. Some of the curves showing equal variations are like serpent tracks in the sand. Every edition of the British admiralty chart has the latest known variation shown upon them in practically every location where


DIAGRAMMATIC 13 CHART
Illustrating the changing Compass
variation in travelling from Cape Columbia
to the North Pole.
NORTH POLE
Meridian
Variation
Cape Columbia
1600 Miles
Magnetic Pole


GRAPHIC POLE
CAPE COLUMBIA
POLE

it has been determined. These admiralty charts give only conjectural compass variations in the north polar sea. They can give nothing else. These conjectural variations at Cape Columbia have been given in different years as being 135° west, 120° west, and in 1912 as 75° west. The publishers themselves can only record what is reported and the reports may be inaccurate. The chart for 1912 gives the variation at Cape Sheridan as 70°. Peary testified at Washington that it is 95°.

Nobody knows the variation of the compass very far north of Cape Columbia and nobody can know until it has been ascertained by actual observation. Peary testified that he made no attempt to learn the variation of the compass on his last trip north, consequently he could not have known it, at any time on the journey.

Using round figures, let us assume (Diagram 13) that the distance between Cape Columbia and the North (geographic) Pole is an even 400 miles; that the distance between the geographic and the magnetic Pole is 1600 miles, and the distance from Cape Columbia directly west to the 96th meridian 200 miles and that the variation of the compass at Cape Columbia is, say, 140 degrees. At the (geographic) North Pole, the variation is, of course, supposed to be 180 degrees. Every direction is south there.

A person traveling from Cape Columbia, which is on the 70th meridian, to the 96th meridian, (whether he went directly west to that meridian, or to its northern extremity at the Pole) would observe a compass variation changing from 140 degrees to 180 degrees, or 40 degrees for the entire journey. The direction given by the compass would not be constant a single hour or a single mile while journeying in either direction. There would be a change of one degree in every 10 miles when traveling directly north (400 miles) or there would be a change of one degree in every 5 miles, when traveling directly west to this meridian (200 miles).

Suppose the first day's travel is estimated as 10 miles. In the zigzag and circuitous route necessarily taken, one could not

guess exactly at the end of the march in just what direction, or at what distance one camp was from the other. If the camp at night were directly north of the morning camp, and the distance just 10 miles, the variation would, of course, be one degree changing gradually all the way. But this would be true only when both factors were fulfilled correctly, *viz.*, the distance and direction traveled. How could both of these be known under the circumstances? If the compass were the only guide, and if there were a dense fog or a snow storm or drifting ice during the day, it would be difficult to guess accurately either as to distance or direction traveled. Could one travel by a compass over such a route and under such circumstances, and know at night exactly the direction and distance made? Navigators in a fog with a *constant* compass to steer by, are anxious men until their location is finally determined by other well known means. A navigator on the ocean, out of sight of land, in broad daylight with variable winds, beating to windward with a sailing ship, with a known and constant variation, and steering as straight as he can on each tack, often finds by subsequent observations of the sun, that his location is entirely different from that which he had supposed.

Suppose now that such a navigator could not have steered his ship straight through the uneven seas, but had to go around each billow, traveling in this manner all day long, with a compass varying every minute, and varying twice as much in making northing, as it did in making westing. Could he guess exactly where he was after a day's sail, even in daylight, and with a log? If he could not, at the end of the day, know his exact location, is he not perplexed how to shape his course for the next day? If there is doubt in such an instance, what would be the case with a caravan of unruly dog teams on polar ice, perhaps on moving ice?

Let us now suppose that at the end of the first *estimated* ten miles journey (by this hypothetical navigator) over the ice, an error had been made in direction and in the distance traveled? If the error had been 5 miles west from north, the variation of

the compass would then be 142 degrees. If 5 miles east, it would be 140 degrees variation, just as it was when he left in the morning with no change. If he did not know his exact location, he could not know his variation. Then how would he shape his course by compass the next day for the North Pole? If he was in error a new ratio of change in the variation thence forward under those circumstances would add another calculation to consider daily. It does not take a navigator or a scientist to see plainly what a mix-up such a traveler would be in, at the end of the first day. He would be absolutely unable to take his proper course on the second day out, to say nothing of subsequent days.

There is another difficulty that may be encountered in attempting to travel by a compass without constantly knowing its variation. A compass is affected by metals if they are in close proximity. A careless stowage of metal things on a sledge—a thoughtless placing of a pickaxe might cause the compass to be untrue. Amundsen forgot nothing. He had a compass on every sledge as checks on the steering compass which was on the front sledge. One day he was perplexed, he could not at once understand the cause of the aberations of one of the compasses. A few experiments located the cause. The primus stove affected it. Amundsen foresaw with unerring vision the possible troubles that might arise if he should rely upon one compass only, even though he could daily know what its true variation should be.

Peary, Gannett and Hobson nonchalantly pooh-pooh the idea of any necessity for longitude. But neither of them, we venture to say would be willing to go upon record and explain just how one could find the North Pole by their methods. At all events it would be interesting and instructive to know how it could be done.*

*It may be among the possibilities that a reckless adventurer might be able to travel from Cape Columbia to the Pole without knowing his longitude He might gamble on results and win. But, it would hardly be called naviga-. tion. It would not be a safe way, or the best way. It would multiply infinitely the perplexities of a hazardous undertaking.

It does not require much knowledge of astronomy to know that such pretended evidence is absolutely valueless. Only common sense is needed. This audacious attempt to show that these observations *could not* be faked, should be fully examined. Peary's, Tittmann's, and Gannett's testimony in respect to this point is evasive. They all pretend that there *is* doubt, regarding this feature, as if they did not know that there is no doubt and can be no doubt. Peary even took the risk to say "That observations have never yet been made that were not made at the place." If this were true, it endorses Cook's claims of the year previous, and makes him the discoverer. But no claim can be based upon such a loose statement.

A scientist either can, or cannot, detect a faked observation. If he can detect the difference between a fake observation, and one that is genuine, he must necessarily know what constitutes a genuine one, and must be able to show why he knows it is genuine, and be able to explain the difference. If he can do that, and do it successfully, and do it in his office, it shows upon its face that he need not be at the Pole. It does not require an astronomer or a scientist to know this self-evident truth. If a scientist should decide that an observation submitted to him was actually a fake, he could only prove that the fake was not successfully executed, otherwise he would not have known it to be a fake. In either event he could not prove where the observation was made. Peary certainly could have gone to this same scientist and had a fake *properly* executed, which is sufficient proof that an observation *can* be faked.

Suppose on the other hand that it is impossible for an astronomer or scientist to detect a fake observation. Then what use in submitting it to him? What evidence could he give that anyone else could not? It, therefore, can be seen by anyone of ordinary discernment, that the opinion of a scientist is of no special value as evidence in a matter of this character. He can tell nothing, except to expose the humbug, if he detects it. If an astronomer cannot tell whether or not an observation was actually taken at that place, where it purports to have been

taken, of what earthly use is it for a "Computer" to check up the computations? It might have been wrongly computed even from a genuine observation. If found to be correct, the computations would not give the slightest indication of where the observation was taken. To present such pretended proofs shows that the members of the Geographic Society were not impartial judges; but partisan judges; advocates and defenders of Peary; witnesses for Peary; exposing themselves.

It would seem unnecessary and useless, but (to silence any further contention on this subject) an illustration is submitted herewith, which was prepared in a noted University, which shows conclusively that Peary's alleged "proofs" can be faked.

The author of the letter herewith, in response to my inquiry is the Professor of Astronomy and Physics in the Creighton University, Omaha, Neb. The following correspondence with him is interesting in this connection.

"Omaha, Nebr., Feb. 13, 1911."

"My dear Professor:—

"I wish to submit to you, two astronomical problems for solution. If inconvenient for you to attend to this, perhaps you may have it done by one of your best students, for whose ability you can vouch.

"1st problem.—Suppose on May 1, 1910, at noon, on a perfectly clear day, I was approximately on longitude 30 degrees west of Greenwich, and on North latitude 89° 58′. At that moment, I took an observation of the sun to obtain its altitude, and from the altitude so obtained I ascertained the latitude to be as above stated. What was that altitude of the Sun?

"2nd problem.—In order to prove and verify your work, I wish you to use the altitude which you find correct, and compute therefrom the altitude. Kindly send me all the figures of your computations.

"Thanking you in advance, I am
Most respectfully yours,
(Signed) THOMAS F. HALL."

The answer is as follows:

"The problems, whose solution you desire, are very simple.

"FIRST: On May 1, 1910 noon, in longitude 30° West of Greenwich and 89° 58′ North Latitude, what is the sun's altitude?

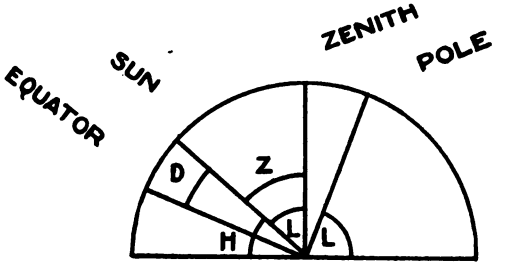


DIAGRAM 14

"In the annexed figures, H is the sun's altitude, Z its zenith distance, D its declination, and L the latitude of the place.

"The noon I take to be local noon, which is 2 p.m. at Greenwich. The sun's declination at Greenwich on May 1, 1910 at apparent noon, was 14° 53′ 28″, which with the hourly variation (these data from the American Ephemeris) of 45″.74 becomes 2 p. m., at the time of the observation 14° 55′ 0″. As Z L-D, Z 89° 58′ 0″—14° 55′ 0″—75° 3′ 0″. And as H 90°—Z H, the sun's altitude, was 14° 57′ 0″. This is the true altitude. The mean refraction at that altitude is 3′ 32″. This mean refraction is changed somewhat by the barometer and thermometer, which are not given. As refraction raises a star, the observed altitude was 14° 57′ 0″, 3′ 32″, 15° 0′ 32″. This is the altitude of the sun's centre. As its semidiameter was 15′ 54″, the observed altitude for the upper limb ☉ was 15° 16′ 26″, and for the lower limb ☉, 14 ° 44′ 38″. If the sextant used had an index error, its correction must also be subtracted.

"SECOND:	☉	OR	☉
Let the observed altitude of the sun, corrected for index be	15° 16′ 26″		14° 44′ 38″
Sun's semidiameter	− 15 54		+ 15 54
Mean refraction	− 3 32		− 3 32
True altitude = H =	14 57 0		14 57 0

Z = 90 − H	=	75	3	0
Sun's D	=	14	55	0
Then the latitude	=			
L = Z + D		89°	58′	0″

I trust this is what you want.

Yours sincerely,
WILLIAM F. RIGGE."

It will be noticed that this illustrative problem does not in any way trespass upon the locality in which Peary may claim pre-emption, or use his figures. It applies to a different part of the world, to a different latitude and longitude, a different year and a different month; and consequently requires entirely different figures. It does not prove and cannot prove, that I was on that date within two miles of the North Pole. Yet the computation shows that I was one mile nearer the Pole than Peary claims to have been at Camp Jessup, and that I present as valid proof that I was there. I present better proof, because I go farther. I present all the computations to the world for examination which Peary and the National Geographic Society suppress. They probably dare not present them. If Peary had presented any computations for longitude, it could be shown that they also can be faked just as well as for latitude.

Now, suppose when Bartlett and Peary were resting on April 1, at the alleged Camp Bartlett at 87° 47′, that Peary had propounded to Bartlett (a skilled navigator of great experience) the following question, which is of the same nature as that herein presented. "Can you tell what an observation should be if made in a certain latitude on a certain date at noon, the longitude approximately known?" And Bartlett might have answered "Certainly." Then suppose Peary had said, "Let us go back to the *Roosevelt*, instead of to the Pole. I have a scheme. I have a plan." And having returned, he unfolds his scheme as follows:

"Assume that I am at 89° 57′ North latitude, say April 6 and 7th, 1909 at noon, on longitude 70° west. Now ascertain for me the correct altitude of the sun at that moment, and then take that altitude as you always do after an observation, and

compute the latitude and see if it comes out 89° 57′ the same as if the altitude had actually been taken." Could Peary not have done that, as the Professor in the University did, if *he* was as skilled? Or could not any one, if equally skilled? Peary might not have wished to take the risk of submitting, and confiding such a delicate proposition to an astronomer of repute but might have preferred to take his chances with his friend Bartlett and make a bungle of it. But there can be no dispute that it could have been done.

Father Rigge of the Creighton University of Omaha, Nebr., writes the author as follows:

"FIRST: I maintain, and am sure every astronomer and navigator and explorer will agree with me, that sextant observations alone do not furnish *positive proof* of one's having been at a certain place at a certain time, because such data as these observations might give, may easily be computed from the assumed position and time. They are like forming an algebraic equation which shall have certain roots.

"SECONDLY: Whether Peary possesses, and has submitted incontestable proofs of having been very near the Pole, I do not know. But his published accounts in Hampton's magazine and in his own book, do not contain any convincing proof at all. They are merely popular descriptions of his journey, and when one attempts to plot his whereabouts when nearest the Pole, he finds confusing and conflicting statements.

"THIRDLY: My idea of Peary's proving that he had been at, or near the Pole, would consist in the cumulative evidence furnished by many and various observations beside those of his sextant, such as his dead reckoning data, the readings of his chronometers, of his barometer and thermometer, and of his magnetic declination and inclination needles, and the like, as I explained in the *Omaha World Herald* of September 5 and 8, 1909, both of which articles were republished in many other papers. I feel convinced that no person could possibly design such a journey, and such a connected series of observations, and not introduce into them numerous minor accidental errors, such as always happen to the best observers. The errors to be found in the data of an actual and true journey would be purely accidental, whereas those in a forged narrative could not

avoid being systematic and inconsistent, and would betray themselves to one or other searching investigator.

"Yours sincerely,
(Signed) "WILLIAM F. RIGGE."

Another Astronomer of another University solves the same problem in another way.

"Omaha, Nebr., Feb. 16, 1911.

"To the Professor of Astronomy and Meterology,
University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.

"My dear Professor:—

"I take the liberty to propound to you a problem which I would be glad to have solved, if you will kindly favor me.

"FIRST: Suppose I was on May 1, 1910 at local noon at North latitude 89° 58′ approximate longitude 30° west of Greenwich, and took an observation of the sun, having in my possession a chronometer with Greenwich time and local time piece set to local time 30° west longitude. What altitude of the sun should have been shown on my sextant by that observation?

"SECOND: With that altitude, kindly compute the latitude, showing it to be 89° 58′, and longitude 30° west with all computations indicating your method.

"Thanking you most sincerely in advance, and hoping you may kindly favor me, I am,

Most respectfully yours,
(Signed) THOMAS F. HALL."

The reply is:

"The following would be the computation in the case cited:

Measured altitude of the sun at local noon	15°	1′	0.5″
Refraction for, say, Temp. −20° Fahr. Pressure 29.5″		4	0.7
True altitude	14	56	59.8

Sun's declination or distance north of equator
Greenwich apparent noon 14° 53′ 28.3″
Hourly increase 45.74″
Hours to 30th Meridian 2

Total increase 1′ 31.5 1′ 31.5″

Declination at local noon	14 54 59.8	14 54 59.8
Distance from the pole		2 0.0
Latitude	89	58 0.0

"To find the longitude one must have with him a chronometer carrying Greenwich time; he must also determine his local time by noting when the sun reached its maximum altitude; the difference would be his longitude.

Time of sun's maximum altitude, or apparent local noon	11h	57m 5s
Sun fast May 1st -		2 55
Time of local mean noon	12	0 0
Reading of the Greenwich chronometer at same instant	2	0 0
Difference of time (=longitude)	2	0 0
or,	30° West.	

"Practically his chronometer would not probably read just what it ought when the sun indicated local noon, but he would by the sun determine its error; neither would his Greenwich chronometer probably indicate true Greenwich time; but he is supposed to know about the rate at which it is gaining or losing and so he knows its probable error; knowing the errors of both timepieces, he can apply the necessary corrections and so get the true difference of time,—two hours.

"I do not know whether this brief showing will make clear the process; if not I shall be glad to state more fully the points that need elucidation.

Very truly yours."

G. D. SWEZEY.

If anything were lacking, to convince a most biased partisan; to make complete the exposure of every phase of the deception concerning Peary's alleged discovery of the Pole, it is fortunately and providentially supplied, (as is usually the case) by the daring attempt of the members of the Committee of the National Geographic Society to bolster up their false

verdict, by an endeavor to cover up these plain tracks that Peary has made. The members of that organization, who rendered the decision on which the Government afterwards acted, are prominent Government officials. What shall be said of their clearly friendly, partisan, unscientific and false decision; what can be said when it is obvious that the evidence which they produced and offered (to induce the Government of which they are a part) to grant a pension and confer high honors, is not genuine or truthful evidence and that they have practiced fraud to accomplish their purpose? Is there any penalty too great for men in their position for acts of that character?

The two most important features, however of the investigation were: the submission by Peary of the leaves showing the observations he said he took during the 30 hours he claims to have been in the vicinity of the Pole; and the testimony, diagram and plotting by Mr. Tittmann and Mr. Gannett, two of the three members of the Geographic Society who passed on Peary's claims. It does not require any special scientific or astronomical knowledge to understand perfectly the problems involved, and to detect clearly the evident deception practiced. Anyone of ordinary intelligence can do it, if he wishes. The so-called proofs which were submitted to the Sub-committee on Naval Affairs for examination, consisted of loose sheets of paper, alleged to have been torn from a book containing what purports to be a record of observations taken in the vicinity of the Pole on the 6th and 7th of April, 1909, together with a diagram prepared by Mr. Tittmann with a plotting of a route said to have been deduced from the figures on these sheets. These two items, (the last, if genuine, based upon the first) comprise all the "proofs" that Peary, is the "discoverer" of the North Pole. These scraps of paper which purport to be the basis upon which the diagram and plot were drawn, are in fact of no more value as proofs, than would be so many blank wrapping papers. But the fact that they are really offered by Peary and the National Geographic Society is significant and should not be overlooked.

The Tichborne claimant who hoodwinked the English

public for years, and who was at last incarcerated for his crime, had some plausible excuses for his perfidy; and the necessity for ferreting out these excuses was justification for the long delay permitted by the English Government. It will be seen in the case now under consideration, however, that there is no excuse, no purported fact submitted that does not bear upon its face the stamp of its own refutation and its own evidence of deception. The audacity of presuming to present such frivolous matter as proof, in a matter of such world-wide interest, should at once condemn its sponsors. An independent astronomer of repute and integrity was not selected to make a plotting, for the obvious reason that he would have exposed the humbug instantly. A "*Computer*" (who appears by the evidence to be in fact a counterfeiter), in the employ of Tittmann* was selected instead. A plumber would have been equally as appropriate, but perhaps not as subservient. Upon this flimsy, false and unscientific evidence and upon this alone the Secretary of the Navy advised the President to honor Peary as the discoverer. The President in turn asked Congress to act, and on this testimony, Congress passed and the President signed the following bill:

Sec. 1. "That the President of the United States be, and is hereby, authorized, to place Civil Engineer, Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, on the retired list of the corps of Civil Engineers with the rank of Rear Admiral, to date from

*Note:—My attention has been called to a letter from Mr. O. H. Tittmann under date of March 4, 1914, which appears in the Congressional record of February 10, 1914 (on page 3875). The last paragraph of which letter reads:

"The computations of Peary's work were made by Messrs. Hugh C. Mitchell and Charles R. Duvall who were employed for the purpose *by Mr. Peary*. These computations were, therefore, not made officially by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, although this office has always vouched for the accuracy of the work done by these two men."

The fact that Peary himself engaged this plotting to be made was not disclosed in the testimony. This knowledge gives the transaction a new phase as it puts Peary in the grotesque position of indirectly discrediting his own Book. No doubt Mitchell in self-protection will eventually disclose to what extent he is himself responsible.

One thing is now certain and it is serious. The U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey by this letter officially vouches for a counterfeit.

April 6, 1909, with the highest retired pay* of that grade under existing law."

Sec. 2. "That the thanks of Congress be, and the same are hereby tendered to Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, for his Arctic explorations,† (resulting in reaching the North Pole.")

This is an announcement to all mankind, who are denied an opportunity to examine, or even see the evidence on which it is based. It necessarily carries with it the implication, not only that the evidence justified this verdict, but also that it was carefully and thoroughly examined, considered and discussed so that the decision was in every way righteous and scientific. In view of the facts unearthed by this disclosure, it is the duty of every patriotic American to demand a non-partisan, scientific investigation by Congress so that the truth regarding the polar controversy may be established without possibility of contention.

*Said to be $6,000.

†The word "discoverer" or "discovery" does not appear in the bill, but it declares that he *reached* the North Pole.

CHAPTER VIII

DID PEARY REACH 87° 6′ IN 1906?

Has the Northern Record of Cagni or of Nansen Been Beaten?

Peary's alleged discoveries of "Peary Channel," "Greenland Sea," "Jessup Land," "Cape Thomas Hubbard," "The Insularity of Greenland" and "Crocker Land" have all been proven untrue by other explorers. The Government has repudiated them; maps and charts containing them have been ordered changed, or withdrawn from circulation, until they can be made to correspond with later known truths.* The recent incidental discovery of these truths makes it highly proper to extend the scope of my inquiries.

The lines of alleged travels on the polar sea in 1909 on the 70th Meridian north from latitude 85° 23′ ("Borup's Last Camp") to the North Pole, should be erased. The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain whether or not the lines of the 1906 voyage extending northeast from a point in 84° 38′ north latitude, longitude 61° 40′ west, to 87° 6′ north latitude, longitude 50W, thence south on the 50th meridian to Cape Newmeyer, as shown on Map No. 2 and also on diagrammatic chart No. 17 herewith should also be erased, that navigators may know they are not venturing on falsely charted seas.

It, therefore, becomes highly proper to place upon record in this book the truth as to Peary's claim to 87° 6′ in 1906.

It is not my purpose to attempt to expose the fallacy of the claim to 87° 6′, and then apply the rule "False in one, false in

*Shown in a speech of Congressman Helgesen in House of Representatives January 18, 1916.

all," because this rule is not applicable to analysis. The North Pole claim should rest on its own merits. There are, however, many features in the 87° 6′ claim that shed valuable light on the claim to the discovery of the North Pole.

The only portion of the 400 pages of Peary's book *Nearest the Pole* that relates to the 1906 expedition while on the polar sea, consists of a part of three short chapters.

The first chapter of the three (Chap. V in the book) "Sheridan to the Big Lead" has only 20 pages devoted to this purpose (101 to 120).

The second: (Chap. VI) "Big Lead to 87° 6′ N. Latitude" devotes 12 pages (123 to 135).

The third: (Chap. VII) "From 87° 6′ to the Greenland Coast" devotes 11 pages (139 to 150).

Of these 43 pages mentioned, only 12 pages of the first chapter, 10 pages of the second, and *none of the third*—22 pages in all, deal in *facts* of the expedition. Fully one half of these 22 pages are filled with non-essential matters, having no bearing whatever on the progress of the expedition. Therefore, for the present examination, it may be said, that about *10 full pages* cover all that is *narrative* needing review. These few pages *contain every fact in existence* to sustain the claim of Mr. Peary of having reached 87° 6′. These few pages may be committed to memory in a few minutes. The last part of Chapter VI and all of Chapter VII is pure fiction, in my opinion. They relate to travels never made—scenes never enacted—deeds never performed.

I propose to review these parts of these three chapters. I have made a plot (Diagram 17)*to assist the reader, which shows not only where Peary did go, but where he said he went but did not go. This diagram may be checked with the narrative, page by page, and will be found I think to conform to it. It differs so much from Peary's plotting on his map (No. 2) herewith as to appear like the plotting of a different voyage. Peary's plotting is counterfeit in every line from land out to 87° 6′ and back to land. This may seem incredible, because the

*Opposite page 260.

veracity of this volume *Nearest the Pole*, has never before to my knowledge, been challenged. Peary's plot is more than a counterfeit representation of the written story of that portion over which he actually did travel, because more than half of it, covers a fictitious route never traversed.

The story therefore covering the latter half of Chapters VI and VII is not narrative, so little of it is based on truth. It is romance. There are so many incongruities and contradictions interwoven with half truths, which together make such a tangled mess, that the reader should spread before him diagram 17 as he reads, because it is difficult in view of these peculiar incongruities and inconsistencies, to picture in words alone, the situation as it truly is. I will however make it all clear.

In a preceding chapter (VII) discussing "Traveling by Compass," my contention is that it was impossible for Peary to have traveled over the route he had plotted to the Pole, without constantlyknowing his compass variation and his longitude; and that Peary's testimony before the Congressional committee that he

> "considered the taking of observations for longitude a waste of time"

is proof enough that the trip was never made. In order to better arrange my argument on this phase of the subject and to give greater force to my contention, I have reserved for this chapter to bring in Mr. Peary *as witness against himself.*

On March 6, 1906, Peary started from land ostensibly for the North Pole. He had wintered in the same ship, (*Roosevelt*) at the same place, (Cape Sheridan) that he did in 1908-9. But instead of starting from land in 1906 from Cape Columbia on the 70th meridian, he took his departure from Point Moss—25 miles farther east. But in his wanderings on the ice, he crossed and recrossed the 70th meridian. It may, therefore, be said that he traveled in both seasons over the same district, His companions in 1906 were Bartlett, Henson, Marvin, Clark. Ryan, Dr. Wolf and Eskimos.

GREENLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GRANT LAND
CAPE SHERIDAN
POINT MOSS
CAPE COLUMBIA
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
K
L
M
N
O
P
Q
R
S
T
U
V
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TRANSATLANTIC CHART
No. 1
(SHOWING GREAT CIRCLE ROUTES)
FROM NEW YORK
TO
1900
SCALE OF MILES
NORTH POLE
EUROPE
AMERICA

Henson, with a light equipment, had started on ahead to pioneer the way and erect the igloos. The others were to bring up supplies and otherwise assist the expedition.

On March 26, 20 days out from land, after making 18 marches, the expedition was stopped by the open water of the "Big Lead." Two days of the 20 days' journey, Peary's party did not march. Not because it could not, but because it was considered by him advantageous to utilize those two days otherwise. At the 6th camp from land, he left a cache called (No. 1). At the 14th camp he left another cache (No. 2).

The characteristics of the trip north were excellent going; splendid weather; rapid progress and constant eastward drift of the ice, which his observations taken later while at the lead showed to be 4.6 miles per day. The distance between Moss and the "Big Lead" was 98 miles. Therefore, the *average* length of marches north was 5.4 miles. The condition of the going during the last four marches, however, was so phenomenally favorable for rapid progress, that he thought he must have traveled fully 12 miles in each of those four marches. The length of marches on these four days is the only distance on the journey that he gives. If those four marches covered 48 miles, then the first 50 miles must have been made in 14 marches or at the rate of 3.5 miles per march in northing. He is emphatic in his daily reports all the way north, in expressing his pleasure, for the phenomenally good fortune that every day befell him. On the 5th march, he says:

"Things are too favorable."

Of the last day (March 26) he writes:

"A glorious day, a splendid march,
over the finest going,"

and then,

"bang up against it. The 'Big Lead.'"

On the morning of the 27th, the day after the arrival, Peary says, page 115:

"I climbed a pinnacle to reconnoitre, and was not encouraged." "The lead was evidently widening." "Came

down and sent a note to the Captain (Bartlett) that if he could not get across to return with every one, I would send him and Clark and their men back for more supplies. I could not afford to feed all these teams and people here during what might be a several days' wait."

"The Captain and Clark got away before noon with seven sledges, and I moved up beside the lead."

This was the last that was seen by Peary, of any of his supporting parties while on the polar sea, except Ryan, who it is alleged reached Peary's camp on April 2 for a few moments, when he too, was ordered "right back." Thenceforward to the end of his movements on the sea, Peary was alone with his own party consisting of Henson and Eskimos.

Neither Marvin nor Dr. Wolf went as far north as the "Big Lead."

Peary remained in this camp seven days (or until Ryan arrived and turned back April 2), awaiting opportunity to cross, drifting steadily to the eastward at the daily rate of 4.6 miles. Meanwhile, or on the 30th, while unable to cross, he got the observation spoken of and found that he was then in:

"Latitude 84° 38′ north, Longitude 74° west' approx.'," (between E and F, Diag. 17). Adding the distance of the 4 days drifting at 4.6 miles a day to this longitude would make the point of his arrival at the lead on the 26th as being in Longitude 77° 32′ (also "approx.") at E.

The first line that Peary drew in plotting his route on his map (No. 2), is intended to show this route from Point Moss to its junction at the Big Lead. It shows an irregular line, trending northwesterly from Moss; or from Longitude 66° 30′ to Longitude 74° west. This line so drawn is misleading. It is not the route that his narrative indicates he took. Important facts are concealed which indicate a different route.

On this (1906) trip, before he reached the fictitious part of his journey, Peary did not

"consider it a waste of time to take observations,"

even for both longitude and for variation of the compass. Hence, we are fortunately somewhat enlightened.

I quote from page 117:*

March 30, "Satisfactory observations with sextant and transit gave Latitude 84° 38′ Longitude 74° W. Approx. and Var. 107½W." "We were somewhat farther west than I intended owing to the constant tendency of Henson and his party to turn to the left in negotiating leads and areas of rough ice."

I will endeavor to show for purposes which will appear later that it was not Henson who was to blame for this westing. A person starting for the North Pole, has only one course to make, *viz*,, due north. It matters not where he finds himself at the end of a day's march; his next course is still the same—due north. But when he is out of sight of land, he cannot tell, at the end of a march what course he has actually made unless he knows his longitude at the end of that march. But as long as he is in sight of land, he needs nothing but a compass, regardless of its variation, to guide him. He can take his bearings as often as he pleases from some distinguishing point on land, and may know at any time whether he is working to the east or to the west of his true course.

I quote from page 109:

"March 17. A glorious day, clear as crystal and the sun is shining nearly twelve hours. The land *distinctly visible*, but not as far away as I could wish."

It is possible that if the land was *distinctly visible* on March 17 at the 11th camp, it was sufficiently visible to get bearings, still further north; but as he does not mention the land again, I have drawn on diagram No. 17 a straight line due north from Moss to Camp No. 11—A to B to C. This is the course he could have taken and would have taken *if he was bound for the Pole.* The very day, however, that he lost sight of land, whatever day it may have been, he was himself lost. There was no avoiding it. Camp 11, if due north from Moss, was in Longitude 66° 30′. The 18th camp (the Big Lead Camp) was established as before stated in Longitude 77° 32′. It is clear, therefore, (if he took the course I have laid out) that when he

**Nearest the Pole.*

went in to the 18th camp at the lead on the 26th, he must have been traveling due west, instead of north (diagram No. 17, C D to E). *Hopelessly lost in 7 days and didn't know it.* He did not know it, he could not have known it until 4 days thereafter, on the 30th, at noon, when he got an observation of the sun, and his longitude.

His excuse that Henson was to blame is childish. Henson was not navigating the expedition. He did not have that responsibility. No one could have done much better, or could have been expected to have done much better, under the conditions, than Henson did.

Later on in his story, (Page 142) Peary says seemingly rather egotistically,

"I alone of the party knew how far we had drifted."

If Peary had been actually bound for the Pole and had taken the route I have drawn, then the line CDE is a graphical illustration of a navigator's attempt to go north, from Camp 11, end of "11th march," but finds after making only 7 marches, that he had unconsciously turned quarter round a circle. Seven more marches with the same proportionate error, would have made a semicircle, heading directly back for land.

I have already mentioned that Amundson says and demonstrates, that this would be the inevitable consequence of such methods. Yet this same navigator, Peary, after this realistic experience and others yet to be mentioned, had the assurance to testify before the Congressional committee, that three years later (in 1909) without even knowing the variation of his compass, or the longitude of a single camp, he marched over this same course in the same month in the year, over the same easterly drifting polar pack, from Cape Columbia to the North Pole, and right over the North Pole into the opposite hemisphere, a distance of 420 miles, directly on the 70th meridian (and its extension beyond the pole) all the way, and that he walked directly back, practically stepping in the foot prints of the outward march, straight up to the cliffs of Cape Columbia, 54 days later.

To return to the narrative. I have plotted the route A B C D E on the theory that Peary started with a purpose to go to the Pole. I wish to accept this theory in my argument, until it is later proven to be otherwise. If, therefore, Peary had traveled 12 miles a day the last four days on this route with a course from northwest to west, he would in each of these four days have overcome about 4½ miles of easterly drift, and would have advanced westerly only about 7½ miles a day.

If it shall turn out that he made this westing on the land ice, or on still ice, before he reached Camp 11 and into the current, then his purpose was not to go to the Pole, but to go out only a short distance; and was using precaution by working west that he might return safely to his starting point, or to land, and not be carried by the current to the Atlantic.

I quote from page 119:

"April 3. Ryan came in about nine last evening with three men Ahngodoblaho, Teddy, and Itukashoo" . . . "He brought very light loads. But it all helps, and Marvin and Clark *must be close behind.*" . . . "I went across (the lead) with every one except Ryan and two of his men (I took the other one with me) who started right back."

This was the last seen of Ryan, the last of his supporting parties. My opinion is, that this is also the last paragraph in his book of actual facts, until he reaches land on May 9. Peary has now in his story crossed the Big Lead at F (Diagram 17). From this point on, until he reaches land, the narrative and the plotting accompanying the narrative, appear to me to be entirely invention.

Peary indicates that he did not think when Ryan left that he had seen the last of his supporting parties. He pretends at least that he was hourly and anxiously expecting the arrival of both Marvin and Clark with much needed supplies. He alleges, however, that on the morning after Ryan left, April 3, he (Peary) crossed the Big Lead, (on the south side of which he had been detained for seven days), and made 3 marches north (34 miles). He was then again stopped by the "big storm," (at G, Diag. 17)

unable to move for another seven days, or until the morning of the 14th.

I quote from page 125:

"The spring tides of the April full moon were running now, and with the wind would probably open the Hudson River again."

"Marvin, however, and I hoped Clark should be well over by this time with their supplies and out on the road."

(These allusions to Marvin and Clark should be borne in mind.)

Whether Clark crossed the lead, or how near he came to reaching the camp on the south side of it, is not recorded. But subsequent events show that he must have been close by, when the storm struck. It appears equally clear that both Marvin and Bartlett long before this date had made tracks for land. It is quite evident that neither Bartlett nor Marvin made any effort after they turned back on the 27th to again join Peary.

On April 13, the storm abated. Storm Camp, (if such a camp existed) had drifted and Peary of course with it in the seven days to H. Peary took observations on this day and writes on page 129 that:

"these observations gave our latitude 85° 12′ and our longitude but slightly west of the ship at Sheridan." Perhaps 10 minutes west.

I will assume his longitude to be 61° 40′ at H as Sheridan appears to be on Peary's map at 61° 30′.

He writes on page 130:

"It was evident that I could no longer count in the slightest degree upon my supporting parties, and that whatever was to be done now must be done with the party, the equipment, the supplies I had with me."

Three days later, under date of April 16, page 132, he describes this equipment (which I will insert here in advance of the journey) as follows:

"While here (second camp farther north) six worn out dogs were killed and fed to the others to save our small store of pemmican and the skeleton condition of these dogs as shown when they were skinned, threw my men into a temporary panic,

as they said that the entire pack might give out at any time and they wanted to turn back from here, but I told them I was not ready to turn back yet, and should not be until we had made at least *five more marches to the north.*"

(This condition of his equipment will be important to remember when we come to read of what they afterwards are alleged to have accomplished.)

On April 13 when the storm abated Peary was placed in much the same position in relation to this expedition that he later was placed in in 1909 at the alleged Bartlett Camp, after separating from Bartlett. His expedition being wrecked, he is now as then alone with Henson and the Eskimos. Now as in 1909 the tone, the character and the purport of the narrative instantly and notably changes. The disappointments, discouragements, the apparent gloom of the last 14 days give way strangely enough to exultant hopes. His heroic, buoyant spirit now lifts him into seemingly heavenly visions. He writes a *prelude*, outlining a "program" for the first time on the journey, of what he will do, or hopes to do in the next few days. His predictions are wonderfully accurate. The experience thus far to this point is no guide for him. He is now aiming high in his mind, for at least a world record. He is determined, notwithstanding his obvious handicap by the condition of his equipment, thenceforth to make *long* marches, *long* hours, and bound over the drifting ice pack to a point where glory awaits his coming. The "guardian angel" (as in a later year) seemingly guides his visions. There must, of course, henceforth be smooth ice all the way; fair winds. The marches must average with these skeleton dogs, over six times the number of miles that they have averaged thus far on the journey when they were in their best condition. There must be no delay by such obstructions as have been heretofore encountered, consuming nearly half the time so far since leaving land. Dogs must shake the fatigue and hunger from their fleshless frames, and be equal to the superlative unprecedented task before them. Men must put forth exceptional efforts in order to win. He had been traveling

over land ice largely, which was comparatively smooth and still, from Moss to Big Lead camp, a distance of 98 miles, but it required 20 days. He now proposed since he had crossed the dividing open lead and was out upon the broken, floating, drifting, polar pack to make 225 miles in the next 7½ days.

Before him as at the Bartlett Camp, was an unknown solitude never visited by man. There could have been no doubt in his mind that along that prospective route there were islands of ice; archipelagoes of ice; perhaps mountains and continents of ice. Behind him he had traveled on land ice, more or less attached to the land, held by the land; but now he had crossed the "Hudson River" which separates the polar pack from this land ice. Before him is the polar sea, a great stream bounding these ice fields along to the Atlantic at a rate of at least 4.6 miles per day. As he advanced into this turbulent current so graphically described by Borup, possibly this drift may be found for all he could then know, to be more than 4.6 miles per day.

April 14 he is ready to start, in his story. He writes on pages 129 and 130 a characteristic prologue to this undertaking, which has a familiar sound.

"I bent every energy to setting a record pace. In the legacy of irretrievable damage which the storm had left us was *one small codicil of good.* Such snow as the wind had not torn from the face of the floes was beaten and *banked hard*, and the snow which had fallen had been *hammered into* the areas of rough ice and the shattered edges of the big floes, so that they *gave us little trouble.* North of *Storm Camp we had no occasion for snow shoes or pickaxes.*"

"On the old floes where it had not scoured the snow off entirely, it had packed it *harder*, and the patches of rough ice, and the pressure ridges were now filled with snow *hammered in until it would bear a mule.* Our tracks *were more distinct than they were* six days before. To the north was a large floe stretching as far as the eye could see. It was a day of April weather reminding me very much of the ice cap; blue sky with delicate 'mare's tail' clouds, then banks of fog, flurries of snow, and blue sky again, with a continuous light W. S. W. wind carrying a low drift along the surface."

This surely was a propitious outlook. How beneficial that storm proved to be to a hopeful mind. But how noticeably different in its effect upon the going, from the previous storm ending on the 3d, (ten days before) described on pages 123 and 124. I will pause to quote it that we may start with a clear understanding.

"Thick and blowing from the north all night, and the same when we got under way the 4th. The diffused light made it difficult to follow the *nearly wind-obliterated trail.* . . . These places (rubble ice) served as nets to catch all the snow blown off the level places, and there it lay *soft and deep.* It was going that would seriously discourage an ordinary party."

This was written at a time when he was assuming that his supporting parties would soon join him and accompany him further north, when slow progress might have been expected.

These two descriptions are, that the effect of the first storm

"Wind obliterated the trail."

The effect of the last made

"The tracks more distinct."

The first made the ice catch the snow where it

"Lay soft and deep."

The last

"Hammered it in until it would bear a mule."

The first,

"Made going that would discourage an ordinary man."

The last,

"Left a codicil of good."

I quote from these paragraphs quite *fully* because they immediately follow the prologue and unmistakably indicate to an attentive reader that from this time on the story is to leave the region of facts and enter the realm of fancy. Narrative is to end—Romance to begin with the paragraph first quoted on the conditions.

The story henceforward, as will be noticed, is a duplicate in the impressions it attempts to make, of the story just before leaving the Bartlett Camp for the north. Peary's mind, however, appears to be so barren of true imagination, so limited

in ingenious ideas, that he uses in both stories almost identically the same incidents, conditions, circumstances and distances. The same method and hour of arrival at his northern destination; the same manner of returning to the starting point; and in some instances he uses almost the identical words in the descriptions. This fact will be so apparent that attention will scarcely need again to be called to it.

On the morning of April 14, he says that he started out. On April 21, 7½ days later, just before noon, he says that he reached the end of this journey north, at Latitude 87° 6′ at J (Diag. 17). No longitude given. He has plotted the spot on his map (No. 2) indicating its longitude to be 50°W.

There is sufficient data given in narrating the story of this imaginary trip northward, that may be used before proceeding farther from which to make a few simple deductions.

First: If he had started on the morning of April 14 and reached his destination at noon April 21, he would have been 7½ days enroute.

Second: If he had started from Latitude 85° 12′ and reached Latitude 87° 6′, he would have made 104 miles of northing.

Third: If he had started from Longitude 61° 40′ and stopped at Longitude 50°, he would have moved eastward 11° 40′, or 48.8 nautical miles.* (Whether this astonishing easting represents drift, or error in navigation, he does not indicate as he did in accusing Henson, at Camp 18. If it were drift, it would not have affected the distance of travel northward. He would simply have drifted eastward without adding to physical effort.)

With these alleged facts in mind, we may proceed with the outline.

On page 131 he describes the journey, pitched to the new tune.

*There are 4.19 nautical miles in one degree of longitude at latitude 85°. It is unnecessary to make distinctions in this illustration between nautical, statute and route miles. Nautical miles are sufficient.

"The first march of ten hours, mysef in the lead, with the compass, sometimes on a dog trot, the sledges following in Indian file with drivers running beside or behind, place us 30 miles to the good; my Eskimos said forty."

(Perhaps it should have been forty, but I suspect that these Eskimos' opinions are added in order to indicate that his own estimate is conservative.) But we will consider it *30 miles.*

"At the end of the march, I was a tired man. Had raised blisters on the bottom of both my feet, and soft as I was after the days in camp, was sore in every bone with the rapid pace, which was *not less than three miles* an hour. My Eskimos insisted it was nearer four."

"The next day" (which would have been Apr. 15th) "we traveled ten hours," . . . "We traveled at a good pace again during this march, and I felt that we had covered *thirty miles more.* I hoped it was more than this even."

We will call it 30 miles.

Page 132:

Next march (Apr. 16th).

"Our pace during this march *was not* less than two and one half miles an hour."

This probably is intended to mean about 25 miles for the march. We will put it down as 25 miles.

Page 132, April 17. He now enters the proposed quinary district the end of which is to terminate his journey north. He gives no specific distance of travel on this day, but as the going in the story continually improves, the indications clearly are that this march is supposed to equal the best up to this time, presumably *thirty miles.* I will assume it to be 30 miles.

Next march, (Apr. 18th).

"No serious trouble was experienced in crossing the lead as I had expected." . . . "This was the first entirely calm day since leaving the big lead." "No old floes." "Traveled ten hours." "Dogs much excited." . . . "Undoubtedly a scent from a seal in an open lead." "I found it difficult to keep ahead of them even by running, so stepped aside and let them pass." * * * "As we advanced, the character of the ice *improved.*" "Floes larger"—"rafters more infrequent." "Our pace was heart breaking." "As the dogs gave out, unable to keep the pace, they were fed to others."

No miles given, but as every sentence in the above paragraph indicates that it was written to justify great speed or a march equal at least to, if not greater than, the best, since leaving Storm Camp; presumably *thirty miles.*

Next day, 19th, no record given.

Next march, page 133, April 20. The reader will now recognize a familiar scene—an old friend. Listen:

"We came into a region of open leads, *trending nearly north and south.*". . "Hurrying on between these leads a forced march was made."

I do not know exactly what a "forced march" means in this instance; but I judge from the language in the paragraph that he wished the reader to infer that he *forced* more time, or more miles into this march than he did in any one of the six preceding marches. The length of this march probably should be called *35 miles* in order to fairly represent the description when considered in connection with the preceding paragraphs.

The next and last, April 21, (page 134).

"Starting again soon after midnight (of 20th) pushed on till a *little before noon* of the 21st."

This probably is intended for the usual march of 10 hours, "after midnight until a little before noon" probably means from 1 a. m. to 11 a. m., because he says before starting on the return the same day (Page 139) that:

"We had already made a *good day's march*, now we had to duplicate it without rest or food."

"A good day's march," judging by the previous descriptions, would probably mean a march of 25 to 30 miles, or 2½ to 3 miles an hour, but *some* of these marches are only my own interpretations as to their length. In order, therefore, not to get the aggregate number of miles greater than the description justifies, we will call this last northern march not "a good march," but half of a good march, or 15 miles. This is probably enough because he says he returned the same day over the same space, "without food or rest," which would be 30 miles for the day.

The deed in the story is now done. The world record is beaten. The glory of Cagni passes to another.

Page 134:

"When my observations were taken and rapidly figured they showed that we had reached 87° 6′ north latitude and had at last beaten the record, for which I thanked God with as good grace as possible, though I felt that the mere beating of the record was but an empty bauble compared with the splendid jewel on which I had set my heart for years, and for which, on this expedition, I had *almost literally been straining my life out.*" "My bitter disappointment combined perhaps with a certain degree of physical exhaustion from our *killing pace* on scant rations, gave me the deepest fit of the blues that I experienced during the entire expedition."

When he attempted to return he emphasizes the effects of his exhaustion by saying "My feet dragged like lead, etc., etc." No doubt he would have been tired. Anybody would have been tired after such a "strain."

He mentions no longitude at 87° 6′. But as he claims to have made the five marches that he says he told his Eskimos on the 16th he would make; and as those 5 marches would include a march (or half march) on April 21, we must conclude that his story means that he marched on the 17th and 19th even though he made no record of marching on those two days. The correctness of this conclusion will later be proven in other ways.

I must repeat that the length in miles of the last 4½ marches are not definitely given by Peary, but I can give no other interpretation to the riddles, as to their lengths, than those I have mentioned. The daily descriptions, the fearful exhaustion at the end, the language throughout, all surely are intended to convey these very impressions to the reader.

But alas and alack! They foot up an aggregate total distance in the 7½ marches of *225 miles* as shown by the line north and south on Diag. 17 (H to I)! To latitude 89° north, double the true distance in northing, as shown by the observations! A strange and inconceivable incongruity! 100 percent discrepancy!

Here is surely an inexplicable chaos. I know not how such irremediable confusion can be made to conform with any known fact, with truth or with common sense. It presents for our consideration a flat contradiction, which cannot be reconciled with any conceivable theory, of being a truthful record.

Can anyone read this story and tell to what point in the Arctic Peary intended to land his hero at the end of his northern journey of the alleged 7½ marches? Was it at 87° 6′ or 89°? Shall we believe that he took an observation before starting, on the 14th, and another at the end, on the 21st, and computed them correctly, and found his northern location to be at 87° 6′, and that he had traveled in 7½ days 104 miles? Or shall we believe his detailed daily record of the actual miles traveled, and that he made a journey in those 7½ days of 225 miles and reached latitude 89° north, within one degree of the North Pole, but had not discovered the discrepancy when the book was published?

Can one admit either of these statements to be true and repudiate the other, without necessarily admitting that the author is an untruthful narrator? This incongruity can only be accounted for (if intentionally published) on the theory that Peary in writing it was acting his dual character of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. That Dr. Jekyll took the observations at Storm Camp, and again at 87° 6′ and traveled a distance of 104 miles between those terminals. That Mr. Hyde wrote the log book and made the daily descriptions of the conditions, and of the speed, and was the individual who became so fearfully exhausted by traveling 225 miles in the 7½ days (from H to I). (Nothing is said in the narrative about Mr. Hyde's return from 89°). Some explanation not apparent to the writer, possibly could be made of this apparently grotesque exposure.

It would not be true, in defense of this descrepancy to say that these distances are mistaken estimates—dead reckonings; because if that were true they would only have been for Peary's personal information and guide on the journey, until he could have taken observations, and knew whether or not they were

correct. They are published as facts in an historical narrative, *after the alleged observations* were taken and his position known. Neither can it, in extenuation be said that possibly he did not intend to represent that he traveled on the 17th and 19th, on which days he makes no mention of specfic miles, or even of traveling; because if the distance figured for those two days were deducted (which two days are more than one fourth of the time of the journey) the total would still be far too wide of the mark to be published as a fact. Besides the story of the return journey to Storm Camp would contradict it. He writes that he made the return marches to Storm Camp in the same time as on the outward march. Lost no time on the return, and *every day* "stumbled into the igloo" built on the outward journey which would make 7 igloos. Besides this, he could not have made "5 marches" from the 16th which he said he would make, without including these two days.

There is, therefore, no disputing the fact that his narrative statements of daily travel show practically twice as great a distance as the truth established by the alleged observations warrants.

This refers to northing. The easting is also in error; and by the circumstances, in as great an error. If one had set his course north from Longitude 61° 40′, how could he have found himself in longitude 50°, 48.5 miles to the east of his starting point in a journey of 104 miles? This 48.5 miles could not in actual experience have been caused by drift. Is he then intentionally or unintentionally representing *faulty navigation*? Such a result in actual experience could happen only from faulty navigation. The drift alone, in 7½ days, at 4.6 miles a day, would have taken him east only 34.5 miles, instead of 48.5, which would still leave an error, all things considered as wide of the mark as is the error in northing. Could a writer do no better in a story? Can such a jumbled mess possibly be accepted by anybody as the record of an explorer's diary?—of actual experience? Were these alleged long marches north the actual strain on the endurance of living men who did no

know from their feelings or the circumstances whether they had traveled 225 miles or 104?—That a navigator of an expedition did not know? Not even after getting an observation? Not even after returning the second time, over the same route, in the same tracks, *in the same length of time*? That he does not know any better than to publish them as facts, a year after the alleged transactions? Or to let them stand as history for 10 years? Is there in fact any one thing in this imaginary journey north of Storm Camp, or one thing in the real journey from Moss to the big lead, as a matter of navigation, that will lead one to believe that the author did so much better in 1909?

Whatever may have been the reason, if there can be a reason for locating the most northern point in the story on the 50th meridian, is immaterial. The fact that it is so located, is evidence enough that it is either an ignorant miscalculation in a fictitious story; or it is positive proof in a true story that it is impossible to travel over pressure ridges and drifting polar ice floes, and keep on a meridian without constantly knowing the longitude. It, therefore, makes no difference for the present chief purpose, whether as a story it is true or false; because in either case it proves that the navigating claim of 1909 *is* fictitious. It proves it because the same person wrote the two, and must have written them both in entire ignorance, or in thoughtlessness of the principles of navigation, or else in downright moral abandon. It is good enough evidence that the author never attempted actual navigation in his life, and that he did not study the consequences that would follow such an attempt in a story.

It may be admitted that the error in the course between the 11th and 18th camps, *is* the truth, and that the error was caused by Henson. That he made a quarter of a circle in seven marches, even though at that time he knew the compass variation. But that was an error to the *west* of the true course. A very natural error to make, when combating an *easterly* drift. But in the alleged marches now under consideration, the conditions were different, and Henson cannot in this instance

be made the scapegoat. Peary says on page 131 that when he started out, he took the lead himself; "*compass in hand.*" He knew the variation. (107½° W.) His purpose in the story was to go directly north. To make all the northing possible with the fewest steps. The drift was east. It does not require a skilled navigator to know that to go directly north in such circumstances, the course must be shaped enough to the west of north, to counteract the easterly drift. Dumb animals know enough for this by common instinct, when swimming a stream. Birds know enough for this when flying in a wind. If this were a true story, Peary would have steered west of north, himself judging every hour, by the swiftness of the current, and by the swiftness of his march, as to how many points to the west he should shape his course. If he had smooth going, in a clear day, he might direct a course approximately correct; but he would not positively know whether he had or not until he had taken another longitude observation. But whether he steered too much to the west, or too little, he would have with certainty, *to some extent, counteracted the effect of the current.* In other words at the end of the 7½ marches, he would not have found himself as far to the east as the current naturally would have carried him, had he not attempted by shaping his course westerly to counteract it.

This is as simple and as certain, as that 2 and 2 make 4. It is just as simple, and just as certain, that the representation in the plot that the location at 87° 6′ would have been on the 50th meridian after 7½ days attempt to travel north, is unmistakably and undeniably a blundering invention; that it is not and cannot be based on actual experience, because that meridian is *not a less distance,* to the east of his starting point than the extent of the drift, (34.5 miles) but is a greater (48.5). Therefore, longitude 50° is logically an impossible location, logically a false location.

But whether fiction or fact, I must repeat and emphasize the repetition that it proves the falsity of the 1909 claim of impossible navigation which is my chief purpose. No man

telling the truth, copying his facts from a diary, and from observations would mistake his northing in 7½ days travel by 100 percent—his easting by nearly 50 percent, and plot a course on a map for the world to see that leads to an impossible and a false location. No man, I am bound to say, of such ignorance, would ever venture far out of sight of land.

It would be absurd and ridiculous to claim that these figures are made by a navigator honestly attempting to find his position at sea. With far more reason could these erratic figures be ascribed to the abberations of an insane person. They have no coherence with any known purpose, that a sincere navigator could have on the ocean. They do not correctly represent northing, easting or longitude, and why they are published, will I think puzzle anyone to explain.

Had Peary given altitudes, or shown computation, some clue to conjecture would exist, but as they are now published there is neither sense nor reason to any of the figures given.

The only plausible explanation that occurs to me, is that Peary simultaneously attempted to write two stories in advance of the occurrences; to decide when they were finished, which of the two, taken as a whole, would best suit the circumstances and conditions after he had encountered them. One of these stories to be "*The Discovery of the North Pole.*" The other to be "*Nearest the Pole.*" Finding that he could not, as will be shown, make all the connections satisfactorily from the facts and circumstances on this 1906 voyage, for a plausible story of the "*Discovery of the Pole,*" he decided to limit the present book to 87° 6′ or to "*Nearest the Pole,*" and await its reception by the public. But in the confusion of compilation he got the pages hopelessly mixed. Anyway it is a senseless, shameful compilation as it is, and cannot contain a vestige of truth. An attentive reader of these 7½ marches must certainly see before he has reached the last marches that there is an ulterior purpose behind the descriptions.

But in regard to longitude, it may be said that the story repeatedly says (as it does on page 133) that the drift of the ice

was always more to the east on the north side of the open water spaces, indicating that the current may have been found stronger as he advanced north, which may have misled him into error. This condition might have been true, but if true, it would not help him out of the difficulty. We may admit every condition that imagination can suggest, that might have misled Peary as to the drift. It will, nevertheless, be proven by positive evidence, that longitude 50 degrees west, is an imaginary and false location.

Suppose for this purpose that the ice between Storm Camp and 87° 6′ to have been one solid mass; perfectly level, quiet and smooth; and that all other conditions were such as by themselves alone considered, would naturally have led Peary to believe there was no drift. The same as one looking at the ground alone can see no evidence that the earth is revolving to the east and that so believing, he made no attempt to counteract any drift but shaped his course due north, leaving Storm Camp due south behind him. Storm Camp would have, in such a case, continued to have been directly south of him even had he in fact reached 87° 6′ or any other distance north. But if on his arrival at this northern point he had learned by his observations that he had drifted 48.5 miles to the east, and was then in longitude 50, he would surely have fortified himself on his return, to prevent drifting into the Atlantic. But whether he would or not, he has said that he not only returned at the same speed as on the outward journey, but that he "stumbled into an igloo built on the outward journey, at the end of every march," until he reached the Storm Camp igloo.

This makes clear the immateriality of the assumption we have made. These igloos would have drifted with the ice, the same as Peary would have drifted, and if Storm Camp had been 48.5 miles west of the 50th meridian when he started north from it, it would have been on his arrival to it, on his return south, 48.5 miles to the east of the 50th meridian at Q, and the direction of his travel to that igloo from 87° 6′, had he continued it in ignorance of the drift, would have taken him nearly to the east

coast of Greenland. Therefore, Peary's plotting that shows his return route on the 50th meridian and saying that he found all the igloos on that meridian, proves conclusively its falsity by his own testimony and the falsity of the northern camp being on that meridian. Had he said that he used sledges that had only one end to them, it would have been no more absurd.

But even if the ice had been in the condition which I have assumed for the purpose of illustration, with no perceptible movement, nevertheless, Peary himself would have known from his observations *taken the day before starting north*, that *it was moving east*, although this movement may not have been perceptible to the eye, and he would have known from that observation and the previous observation on the 30th that it was moving at a rate of 4.6 miles per day. Knowing this, he certainly would have done one of two things.

First: He would have accepted this positive information that the ice was drifting regardless of appearances and he would have tried to counteract its effect by steering to the west of north, or else,

Second: He would have taken daily observations for the longitude (for he had the sun) and found out whether it was moving or not.

Therefore, had he steered west of north to counteract the drift under the guidance of either of these advices, Storm Camp would *not* have been south of him on his arrival at 87° 6′, but it would have been as far to the east of the 50th meridian as he had worked west of his true course (due north); and on his return to Storm Camp 7½ days later, it would have been to the east of 38° 20′, a distance equal to *double* the distance of his westerly working. So much for the alleged location on the 50th meridian.

Having now reached in this review, the northern end of the journey, I will pause in my argument, before tracing the return, and by way of parenthesis comment on Peary's remark that:

"I thanked God with as good a grace as possible, though

I felt that the mere beating the record was but an empty bauble compared with the splendid jewel on which I had set my heart for years and for which I had almost literally been straining my life out."

I think it to be in line with my purpose, to show that this remark is pure hypocrisy, and under the peculiar circumstances, borders on blasphemy; and to also show that these sentiments are inserted in the wrong place even in a story to have the appearance of veracity. If Peary had any intention on this voyage of going to the North Pole (I am sure he did not) or if he had at any time on the voyage, an occasion for disappointment so severe upon his system as to throw him into a fit of blues, that time was during the week when the big storm was raging, ending on the 13th. He realized during that week that the alleged North Pole expedition of 1906 was simply fragmentary wreckage scattered broadcast over the Arctic Sea. His own sledges were empty; his party hungry with no hope of succor, and nearly 100 miles from land. There was apparently nothing left for him and his party to hope for, but to get to land as quickly as possible, and save their lives.

If there can be anything in the stuff that goes to make up an Arctic explorer, that permits him to submit to the blues, this was the time and the place for that stuff to show itself. It was the only place in the story when he could have been actually disappointed. It was at that place and at that time if ever that he was obliged to abandon "that splendid jewel." It is the place where he has himself unconsciously acknowledged this disappointment and this abandonment by limiting his future efforts from the 16th to "five more marches north." It was then, and only then, that he gave up that "splendid jewel." It is inconsistent and must be hypocrisy to pretend that it happened at the end of those marches, marches that were never made. Had he actually made those seven and one half marches, and had he reached 87° 6′, after this disappointment at Storm Camp, it would have been a genuine triumph. And any man with human aspirations and sentiments would have so

regarded it. It would have been a triumph in a feat in most of its particulars, unparalleled and unapproached in the annals of Arctic exploration. He would in that success have had the exceptional honor of emplanting his feet, and setting his eyes, upon a more northern point on the earth's surface than had ever before been achieved since Creation's morn, by any living thing. That was not the natural place, nor the natural time for an explorer to give way to the blues.

I invite the candid opinion of students of human nature as to what these expressions of Peary obviously mean. We cannot read another's mind—we cannot penetrate the secret of another's heart. We can only form opinions from circumstances and are very liable to err. But in a search for truth is it reasonable to suppose that this intrepid explorer at this point, would have been so grievously disappointed, so mortified, so saddened in his heart, that he would surrender like a frail woman and give way on that Arctic ice to despondency and grief?

It is my opinion, that when he seated himself to pen this part of his story, he saw before him in his sub-conscious mind, the features of Nansen and of Cagni, and these words which I have quoted were written to hide the blushes of a guilty soul.

To proceed with the outline. He writes that he did not make camp at 87° 6′. After taking the observations, he proceeded south, camping that night (the 21st) in the igloo from which he started north in the morning; that he then proceeded on south to Storm Camp, making the same time on the return as on the outward march "stumbling into an igloo every night." (This as I have shown proves that all of the 7½ days of the alleged outward trip were to be considered marching days. Because if he had made the same time returning, and lost no time returning, he must have also marched 7½ days going north.)

He states that on his return he remained 24 hours at Storm Camp, which is the only lost time that he reports on the whole alleged journey north from Storm Camp to 87° 6′, and south to

land. We have now reviewed the alleged round trip from Storm Camp north and back to Storm Camp. But I have been assuming the distances north and south to have been 104 miles as shown by the alleged observations taken at the terminals of the alleged journey from H to J. These observations would determine the aggregate distance but they would not indicate the length of the separate marches. I have therefore divided the distance in plotting Diagram 17 from H to J into 7½ spaces, to correspond with the alleged number of marches, which makes each full march only 13.8 miles and the last ½ march only 6.9 miles.

Now then, how could Peary have "stumbled into an igloo every night on his return, traveling only between 87° 6′ and 85° 12′ and taken 7½ days to return, if these igloos were 30 miles apart reaching from latitude 85° 12′ to 89°—H to J? It seems like superogation to devote so much space, in consideration of a subject that bears such clear and unmistakable internal evidence that every sentence is false. But I will be brief.

From the alleged Storm Camp, he writes (page 142) that he made a

> "bee line for the nearest point on the Greenland Coast."

and reached Cape Newmeyer in ten more marches. And he also says (page 148) that just before reaching land, he crossed the *freshly made tracks* of Clark "heading east."

> "*I thought it might be Marvin and his party.*"

(He says that Clark was found to be a few miles east. He joined Peary the next day). Peary's plot indicates that he kept on the 50th meridian straight south from 87° 6′ to Storm Camp, and on the 48th straight south from Storm Camp to Newmeyer.

This alleged trip from Storm Camp to land is devoid of any descriptions of special incidents, and it is very briefly stated

in the book. But the references therein to natural facts show, how loosely even this brief statement is written.

I will try to shed light on this.

First: It is more difficult in navigation to keep on a meridian, between observations, when going south, than it is in going north, when traveling in the northern hemisphere. But here is the allegation of a navigator, who, when he had observations to guide him and compass variation, could not make even 7 marches, in two separate attempts when going north,—one on the land ice, and one on the central pack, without crossing ten meridians of longitude in each attempt. Yet claims that he returned south, (having a more serious problem, with no observations to guide him), and made 17½ marches, keeping all the way directly on his chosen meridian, without drifting out of his course, and landed exactly at the desired point.

Second: He also states (page 142) that he made a "bee line" from Storm Camp "to the nearest point of the Greenland Coast."

He evidently forgot himself in this statement; forgot he was writing fiction; forgot he was imagining himself to be in a false location, even in this simple matter. Cape Newmeyer would *not* have been the nearest point. Cape Washington would have been 20 miles nearer; and 20 miles, out of 132, to men alleged to have been starving, eating their fatigued dogs in order to keep alive to reach land and game, would have been seriously considered. But the fact that he represents himself to have been in latitude 85° 12′ longitude 50° (or 48° at K) when he said he made "a bee line" proves that he overlooked the other fact that such a statement did not apply to that imaginary location; but *did apply to his true location;* to the point from which he actually did start south for land, which will yet be shown.

We have now seen that all the lines of the plotting on Peary's map are fictitious and that most of them conflict with the written story. I will next go to prove in another way by

still better evidence, if better can be possible, (I call it better, because based on some known facts, instead of on fictitious lines and false statements) that the whole alleged journey, starting north from the big lead and thence on south to land, by the route plotted on Peary's map is a trumped up journey, never made.

Let us see where Peary actually did go—or probably did go, as shown by reliable circumstantial evidence.

On April 13 when the storm abated, Peary was at one or the other of two places. He says he was at Storm Camp, Latitude 85° 12′ Longitude 61° 40′ at H. The indications are that he was 34 miles directly south of that point, still detained at the big lead camp, which camp on that date had drifted to O. However, it makes but little difference in the illustration I am about to make, at which of these two camps we may assume him to have been. It is certain that he was at one or the other camp.

I will go back a few days. Clark (presumably) had been hourly and anxiously expected by Peary, to arrive *at the big lead camp* at F (34 miles farther south than H) with supplies, on April 3, which was the day that Peary alleges he left it.

Therefore, on that date at least, as subsequent events will show, Clark and Peary were undoubtedly very near together—perhaps only a few miles apart. Wherever they each may have been, or however near together, or however far apart they were, both were in the same *vicinity*, when the storm struck 3 days later, and both were held fast by the storm, drifting eastward together, until the storm abated on the 13th. These facts are recorded and these approximate locations of the two men are rightly established.

The next morning, after the storm (the 14th) Peary says he started out; and undoubtedly Clark did the same. On May 7, 26 days later, they *both arrived at Cape Newmeyer*!!

What does this simultaneous arrival of these two men at Newmeyer on May 9 indicate? It is an exhibit of a phase of the story, that is at least interesting. It furnishes evidence of a

peculiar situation that is obscured, if it be not suppressed, in the Peary narrative. There in only one presumption that can be entertained regarding this peculiar situation in the absence of explanation or evidence to the contrary, and that presumption is that these two men traveled together or nearly together over the same route all the way from the big lead camp at O to Newmeyer at L. If this presumption be sound, it proves an alibi for Peary. He did not go to 87° 6′. But this presumption is in absolute conflict with the recital in the narrative. It contradicts the very purport and intent of the story. If sound, it would leave the record of Nansen and of Cagni unbroken. It would be collateral and valuable corroborative evidence to support the evidence which has already been furnished that Peary did not go north from big lead camp but south. Can any reader shut his eyes in the face of this plain exhibit, and blindly accept such a monstrous absurdity as the contradictory and grotesque statement that is related in Peary's book as to his travels between April 14 and May 9?

But there is one thing that may yet be said; *viz.*, that this simultaneous arrival at Newmeyer, was simply a coincidence. Let us see if it were a coincidence.

I will present Clark's case first. His case is clearer and the facts regarding his movements are better known. We know that Clark did not go either north, or east of the big lead camp (which camp on April 13 was on the south edge of the big lead) at O.

Therefore, between the morning of the 14th of April and the evening of the 9th of May, (26 days) Clark was somewhere enroute to Cape Newmeyer. The distance *south* from the big lead to Newmeyer is the same as the distance north from Moss to the big lead, *viz.*, 98 miles. It took 20 days for the expedition to make this distance going north with the assistance of pioneering parties. It took Clark, when returning alone, 26 days to reach Newmeyer. The days therefore and the speed on these two trips in the case of Clark vouch for the probable truth of each.

Now turn to Peary.

On April 14, the very same day that Clark left for the South or for land, Peary, who was near by, also left, for *somewhere.* He arrived at Cape Newmeyer the same day that Clark did (May 9); also (of course) just 26 days enroute.

What is the natural inference from these premises, in the absence of explanation? There is no explanation in Peary's book. Did Peary and Clark travel together in a "bee line to the nearest point on the Greenland Coast?" Newmeyer was "*the nearest point on the Greenland Coast*" *in a bee line from either of these starting places O or H.* Or did Peary make an excursion around, and over, the fictitious route plotted by him up north to 87° 6′ and down south to Cape Newmeyer, a distance in straight lines of 394 miles, while Clark was making 98 miles; and by *coincidence,* arrive at the same point on the same day? Let us look into this a little deeper.

The 83d parallel singularly passes through both Cape Moss, the starting point north from land, and Cape Newmeyer, the landing point south from sea. Sheridan, where the ship was lying, is sheltered in the bend, or bay, between these two capes, about 22 miles south of this (83d) parallel.

We can illustrate Clark's position and travels quite accurately.

On April 13, as before shown, Clark was in the vicinity of O almost directly north of Sheridan; 98 miles north of this 83d parallel. He wanted, of course, to get to the ship at Sheridan, his destination. But he infinitely more must have wanted to get to land; to safety and to game; to get there in the surest, quickest, most prudent way. Such a way for economy in time, labor and miles of travel, was to steer straight south for 98 miles, and let the current do the rest. He did this, and landed at Cape Newmeyer, 98 miles east of Sheridan. His southing and easting therefore were equal. If then, Clark was at O (big lead) April 13, and at L (Newmeyer) May 9, the line O L undoubtedly represents the route that he took, because it is the natural, the most direct route, between the

two points, taking into consideration the easterly drift. Newmeyer being 98 miles east of Sheridan shows that the aggregate drift just equalled Clark's speed of travel. The drift at the lead was 124.3 per cent of his march, (4.6: 3.7) which checks with and vouches for the probable facts 3.7 average speed enroute to land to 4.6 per day drift at the lead and presumably no drift near the land.

To make a more perfect comparison between the alleged situations of Peary and Clark we will now suppose that Clark instead of adopting the plan he did, (by drifting to Newmeyer), had determined to make his land fall directly south at Sheridan at whatever cost to him in time, food and strength. It is obvious that he would have needed to have shaped his course, west of *southwest*, instead of south, and to have traveled about 40 miles *west*, to overcome the drift, as well as 98 miles south, to reach the 83d parallel, (and shelter or the land ice). Clark wisely adopted the plan first mentioned; the sensible plan, and shaped his course south. Under the plan adopted he reached land and game in less time, traveling a less number of miles on the ice. He then afterwards traveled the last 98 miles of his journey from Newmeyer to Sheridan at his leisure, on land, instead of on drifting ice. Under the hypothetical plan mentioned, he would have needed to have made his 40 miles of westing in scaling pressure ridges, and ice floes, on the drifting sea. An infinitely greater task as well as a longer journey.

Now let us apply these identical rules to Peary in his alleged position in a similar illustration.

On April 21, Peary claims that he was at Latitude 87° 6′ north, Longitude 50° W, at J which location is 246 miles almost directly north of Cape Newmeyer. He then, like Clark, would have wanted to get to Sheridan, his destination. But he infinitely more must have wanted to get to land. To safety and to game. To get there in the surest, quickest, most prudent way. The most economical way for him in time, and miles of travel (as it was with Clark) would have been to have steered straight south for 246 miles and let the current do the rest.

But this plan (had he traveled no faster than Clark) would have landed him 246 miles to the east of Newmeyer, or 50 miles out into the Atlantic. If 87° 6′ N—50° W had been his true location, he would have been in exactly the same dilemma as to reaching Newmeyer, which would have been directly south of him that Clark was in as to reaching Sheridan had Clark determined to reach Sheridan, which was directly south of him, at whatever cost to him in time, food and strength, as before explained. If Peary had no better facilities for travel than Clark had (he had no better, nor as good), Peary would have needed to have shaped his course west of *southwest* instead of south, in order to have made a land fall at Newmeyer, and he would have needed to have traveled about 106 miles to the *west* to overcome the drift (scaling pressure ridges and ice floes), as well as 246 miles south to reach Newmeyer; 352 miles altogether. But he would already have traveled 104 miles (if he had started as he says he did from Storm Camp at H), between April 13 and April 21 to reach 87° 6′ at J. This added to 352 makes 456 miles; and if he had started from the big lead camp at O, on April 19, (which he undoubtedly did) 34 miles more must be added, making 490 miles that he would have traveled during the 26 days between April 13 and May 10, while Clark was traveling 98 miles during the same 26 days. This discrepancy between the alleged accomplishments of two men in 26 days of traveling is great enough for incredibility. Any other showing that would enlarge this discrepancy could add nothing to its absurdity. But there are degrees in the magnitude of lies (we are evidently now dealing almost wholly with lies), the same as there are degrees in the heinousness of crimes. Peary has more definitely, positively and explicitly claimed in the pages of his narrative to have traveled 225 miles north of Storm Camp, than the implied, but unexpressed claim of 104 miles, which the alleged observations indicate. The fact that the false statements in the narrative about the lengths of the daily marches are more graphically exposed by the line HI should not

eliminate the claim from consideration in any just comparison *because* of its absurdity.

Therefore, if we should add to this 490 miles (to get at the true situation) 121 miles more to include the remainder of the senseless, shameless daily record of 225 miles, it would make 611 miles that Peary is claiming to have actually traveled in the same number of days and the same days that Clark traveled 98 miles. It would have been a remarkable coincidence if Peary had in these circumstances arrived at the same point on the same day as Clark.

But was it or could it have been coincidence?

Even if it were conceded that Clark and Peary had left the same point together on the same day and had traveled as one organization, and used every endeavor to have kept together all the way, it is doubtful, under the circumstances, if they could have kept together all the time. Such a thing is not recorded in any of Peary's travels with his supporting parties on either of his expeditions. One needs only to read Borup's description of the difficulties of such an undertaking to understand the problem it involves, where there are open leads and ridges to scale. But of course by taking sufficient time each helping the other it would be possible for the two parties to have started together and to have landed together. But suppose they had started out of sight of each other and kept out of sight of each other, it would be almost a miracle if they both could have crossed 98 miles of floating cakes of ice drifting constantly to the east, and not only reached land together, but the same spot on the land. It would have been considered a remarkable phenomenon, difficult to believe, without all the circumstances being satisfactorily explained. But such an illustration only proves, even if it be considered possible, the impossibility of the conflicting claims in Peary's book.

We now come to the case as it is presented in the story. We have the various alleged situations of these two men from beginning to end of their journeys to land clearly before us.

We may review these journeys in a different way and my analysis so far will be found to check.

Clark and Peary both actually started for land the same day. Both reached the same place on the land the same day. But it is alleged that they took altogether different routes.

Clark is known to have *traveled* on his route, only 98 miles in the 26 days. He had only one sledge and two eskimos, and would have had less than *one fifth* the distance to go that Peary would have had on his alleged route. Peary's claim, however, (eliminating the 121 miles) is in substance that he *traveled* in those 26 days over 5 times as far as Clark traveled. Peary had on his journey four times as large a party. He was an older man. The poorest sledge, dog, or man, fixed the pace. It would seem that if ice conditions were equal (and they must have been equal over the last 98 miles of the distance), Clark would have made the greater speed.

If we compare Peary with himself, the result is practically the same. It took him in his story 44½ days to reach 87° 6′; but only 18½ days to return over the same distance. Eliminating from this comparison the now known fictitious marches and confining it to the territory south of the big lead where real marches by himself and Clark were *actually* made, we find the result to be still practically the same.

In Peary's journey north from land to the big lead, the going was excellent; the weather fine; men and dogs were fresh and fully fed; sledges were lightly loaded; supporting parties pioneered the way and built the igloos; supporting parties brought up supplies from the rear; "Things are too favorable" says Peary (on page 106) "to last." Under these phenomenally favorable circumstances and conditions, he made this distance going north in eighteen marches. On the return over this identical distance, or from the big lead, (or from the "Scar" where he said it closed) the circumstances and conditions were at least, *not as favorable*. He was alone without support. He relates that his dogs had long before become skeletons, many unable to proceed. That himself and party were physically

exhausted, and all on short rations. Yet notwithstanding this acknowledged handicap in comparison with conditions on his own *outward* march, he claims that he reached land at Cape Newmeyer over the identical distance in *seven* marches; 18 north, as against 7 south, *with the odds in conditions all in favor of the 18.* And these 7 marches covered the same distance over practically the same ice as did Clark's 26.

The days, the speed, the distance, the drift, the "bee line," the conditions, the comparisons between Peary when traveling north with witnesses, with Peary traveling south alone; between Clark and Peary, in the same number of days; all combine to indicate that Peary started south on April 14 and not north; that he must have traveled over the same line, OE, that Clark traveled. Like Clark, he unavoidably was carried by the drift to Cape Newmeyer.

It is in vain to attempt to palliate, or disguise this matter. It has every mark of fraud and imposition stamped upon the face of it. In all researches of this kind, the best evidence that can be produced, is the internal evidence the thing carries with itself, and the evidence of circumstances that unites with it, both of which in this case are not difficult to be discovered. If Peary went to 87° 6′, then the mind of man cannot penetrate. The divine gift of reason only confuses; logic perverts; and eyes are not made to see.

We will now continue the outline to the ship.

From Newmeyer his party accompanied by Clark marched along the coast to the ship at Sheridan, arriving about June 6 (three months after leaving Moss). He gives no date of his arrival at Newmeyer. None of his arrival at the ship. No dates are given after April 21st, the alleged date of arrival at 87° 6′. But these omissions conceal nothing of importance. They can be approximately calculated, but they are immaterial at this time.

On page 168 he gives the news which he says he heard on his arrival at the ship.

"I learned that Marvin and Ryan and some Eskimos had left for the Greenland Coast in search of Clark, and that Captain Bartlett and Dr. Wolf were still pegging away at the work north of Heckla. I sent a messenger to recall Marvin and another with a letter to Heckla to reach Captain Bartlett as soon as he arrived."

It is only for the purpose of showing the utter unreliability of this so-called narrative in *all its parts*, even where the truth would have answered just as well, that I review this amazing but otherwise unimportant statement.

Neither Marvin nor Dr. Wolf went to the big lead. It is therefore but natural as a matter of fact that Marvin may have reached Sheridan ahead of Peary. But if he did, then on what theory could Peary have been expecting Marvin to arrive at Storm Camp on April 5? And why should he have thought that Clark's sledge tracks, which he said (page 148) he saw on his arrival at Newmeyer "might be *Marvin's* and his party?" Why was he not astonished, as I think the reader must be, to find that Marvin had reached Sheridan ahead of him, and gone on east to Greenland?

Take Ryan.

Let us assume, however, for purposes of illustration only, that Marvin and Ryan actually did reach Sheridan ahead of Peary; and that they had in fact started off for the Greenland Coast in search of *Clark*, and not for Peary, the commander of the expedition. Ryan knew, if he had made that visit at Peary's camp on April 2, that Peary was the farthest away to the east of anyone of the expedition except himself, and that Peary was the one among them all in most danger, and the one most likely to be in need of assistance. Why would not Ryan and Marvin have been searching for Peary, if searching for anyone?

Let us take the cases of Ryan and Clark in another way and see how the straws lean.

Ryan is said to have reached Peary's camp at the big lead at 9 p. m. April 2, and was immediately sent "right back" by

Peary. (This was six days after Bartlett and Clark had been sent back). Ryan, therefore, necessarily would have been by these six days of drifting and traveling eastward at some considerable distance to the *east of both Bartlett and Clark* and just as far east as Peary when the storm struck three days later (on the 6th).

If therefore Clark and Peary who turned south immediately after the storm, as we have shown, were carried by the drift to Newmeyer, why was not Ryan who was to the east of Clark if not of Peary carried still farther *to the east than Newmeyer? How on this earth could* he have reached Sheridan ahead of Clark or Peary? Did he fly?

Take the actual situations as to Bartlett and Clark as to the possibility of either of them bringing up supplies to Peary.

They were the only two of Peary's white supporters who went *with the expedition* as far north as the big lead. These two men were ordered back for supplies the next morning (the 27th). Clark (one of these two men) was next seen at Newmeyer, over 200 miles to the east of the point where he was ordered back. Is it not strange, without some explanation, that Clark should have been found so far to the east, and that Bartlett, his companion, should be found "pegging away at Heckla" *so far to the west,* providing both actually went south together on March 27 for the same purpose, *viz.*, to bring up supplies to Peary's camp?

There could scarcely be a more confused mixing of affairs than is herein shown.

I am sure that it will be interesting at this place, if I now show the true situation as related to these men and the camp and caches, which is so cunningly obscured. It may indicate the probable motive for Peary's astonishing statement above quoted on his arrival at the ship and lay bare by proof, the fact that even this unimportant part of his story is purely invention.

There are three land marks, or, a better description is, three floating *sea* marks in this story, from which we may take departures and make comparatively reliable calculations. They

are the two caches left on the ice, and the camp at the big lead, also on the ice. These three sea marks were all established on the northern march, from Moss to the lead. They are shown on the plotting (Diag. 17) as B, D, and E. It will be advantageous to the reader to first understand the relative positions of these three places with respect to the different parties, and the changing effect on those relations by the ocean current. We cannot with impunity ignore current in calculations of location on the sea.

These three locations were established in the following chronological order, (assuming Diagram 17 to be a true plotting of the route, which it is impossible to know, as will be later indicated. But it is sufficiently correct for present purposes.)

Cache No. 1 was established March 11 on Longitude 66° 30′ W at B.

Cache No. 2 was established March 22 on Longitude 70° 00′ W at D.

Big Lead Camp established March 26 on Longitude 77° 32′ W at E.

The camp, therefore, was farthest west. Had all these sea marks remained stationary as established, the distance between the camp and Cache No. 2, (the nearest cache) would have been 52 miles. But between the 22nd and the 26th (the dates on which these two sea marks were established) the cache drifted eastward 4.6 miles per day, increasing the distance in that time between the two places 18.4 miles. Hence on the 26th, when the camp was established, they were 70.4 miles apart (52 plus 18.4), the cache being at M. Thenceforward until April 3 both camp and Cache No. 2 drifted eastward together, presumably at the same speed, and therefore kept the same distance apart.

On April 3, Peary alleges that he left this Big Lead Camp and made 3 marches, (34 miles presumably) directly north to "Storm Camp," G, arriving on the evening of the 5th. Therefore Cache No. 2 again drifted eastward during these 3 days 13.8 miles more, making the distance (east and west) between Peary's

"Storm Camp" and Cache No. 2, 84.2 miles (70.4 plus 13.8) and the distance north and south, as shown on Diagram 17, would have been approximately 44 miles at N. So much for the relative positions of Cache No. 2 and of Peary at his last camp (Storm Camp).

Cache No. 1 on this latter date, (April 5) had been drifting eleven days more than had Cache No. 2, because it was established 11 days earlier. Therefore, Cache No. 1 was 50.6 miles east of Cache No. 2, and it was 134 miles east, and about 90 miles south of Peary at his last camp at R. This gives the relative positions of both caches, and of Peary at the last camp.

I now come to the facilities, and the possibilities which those facilities gave for getting supplies from either of these caches to Peary at this last camp. Peary pretends that he was expecting supplies to arrive from those caches on April 3 at F and on April 5 at G. But we will see after establishing one more fact if there can be any sincerity in these expectations.

Peary's speed from Moss to the big lead, and Clark's speed from the big lead to Newmeyer, the only two rates of speed positively known, both the same distance north and south, show by Peary's own record, that average travel with loaded sledges north and south, barely equalled in miles, the easterly drift of the ice, as this drift is shown by the observations. We may, therefore, for this purpose call them exactly equal. That is to say the drift east was 100 percent of an average march either north or south. Hence, it would seem that if anyone of these sledging parties had attempted to go *west* with loaded sledges on the drifting pack ice, he would only on the average have stemmed the current from day to day or held his own againstit, without making any (appreciable) progress west.

With these premises before us, we may draw some intelligent conclusions as to possibilities, to say nothing of alleged hopes of getting supplies to Peary's camp at G or F from either of these caches.

Cache No. 2 as had been shown was the nearest cache to Peary. It was on April 5, about 44 miles south, and 84.2

miles east of his own camp, *Down Stream* at N. Cache No. 1 was about 90 miles south, and 134 miles east—also, *Down Stream* at R. It must therefore be clear to the reader that the day after the expedition left either of these caches behind, that cache was gone from that expedition forever. No one, therefore, ever brought any supplies to Peary from either of them. No one could have done so. It has not been said that anyone did. It has only been said that supplies were expected.

It is unnecessary to further unfold the facts. Let us now remove the mask, brush aside the pretensions, and state the truth about these facts as far as they are disclosed.

When Bartlett and Clark started south from the big lead on the morning of March 27, they were dismissed from the polar sea expedition. When Ryan started south from the big lead camp six days later, he was dismissed from the polar sea expedition. These dismissals were evidently for the purpose of permitting Peary to be alone, to go to the North Pole, or elsewhere. Not one of his supporting parties again saw him after these dismissals, until they saw him on the land. It is obvious that none were intended to see him during this interval of time.

Peary pretends that he was expecting Bartlett, Marvin and Clark to reach him with supplies at his camp (on April 5) at G and that he was disappointed at their failure to do so. I will show that there can be no sincerity in these expectations.

Would either of these men, (if sane) or would Peary himself, have gone Down Stream on a "stern chase," 84.2 miles, trying to catch up with Cache No. 2, the nearest cache, knowing from their experience to that date, that they could only travel at an average speed of about 4½ miles per day, and that the ice under them was going just as fast in the same direction, and knowing that if they finally reached the cache it would then be 168.8 miles away from the camp to the east, *Down Stream*, and 44 miles to the south or more than 200 miles from the camp; twice as far away as the land or the ship and that if they should then load their sledges from the cache and turn

back, that they could only stem the current? These pretensions are so preposterous and so absurd, that I tire of exposing them and no doubt the reader tires of seeing them. But I must keep on.

As the last illustration, I will take Bartlett's whereabouts separately. It tells, as everything tells, practically the same story.

Peary wrote (on page 106, March 9) that Bartlett left Camp that day for Heckla "for additional load." Then (on page 109, March 15) he wrote again:

"While at this camp the Captain came in having been *six* marches from Heckla."

Here is apparently another 100% forgetfulness, as to facts; because these dates *both included* (9th and 15th) show only six days' absence for the *round trip*, not the single outward trip "from Heckla." But Peary now (June 6) nearly three months afterwards, on his return to the ship writes again that Bartlett was still "pegging away at the work north of Heckla." This is a very ambiguous, indefinite description of Bartlett's "*Work.*" "Pegging away" at what? The record shows that he was ordered on April 27 to bring supplies to Peary, to the Big Lead Camp! Was he still continuing making the alleged six days' trip at his job of sledging supplies from Heckla to Cache No. 1? This can be the only possible "work" that Peary can be wishing the reader to infer by his ambiguous expression. But how ridiculous! How amazing! Cache No. 1 on this date (June 6) *was undoubtedly in the Atlantic Ocean.*

I have given these three chapters in Peary's book very close attention. I have tried to study them from every point of view, in order to get at the probable truth. I am now bound to say, that I do not believe there is a sentence written after Peary arrived at the big lead, that is worthy of the slightest credence. I do not think that any intelligent, unbiased person, can study them and come to any other conclusion.

Discovery by Inventon

The curtain now rises. The light of heaven truly illuminates this remarkable scene. The mystery vanishes. We now can see in its nakedness, the truth. Ah! the villainy of it all! The key to the secret of the discovery of the North Pole, including the secret of 87° 6′, we now surely possess. All must now be, to any intelligent reader, as plain as day. When we look at that straight line, north and south over the 50th meridian, from 87° 6′ to Cape Newmeyer; and at that other straight line, north and south, over the 70th meridian from the North Pole to Cape Columbia; each line ignoring all indications of the effect of drift upon the traveling; and the two narratives concealing the longitudes, if any were obtained, of any camp between the terminals on these lines; our vision clears.

The evidence is all but conclusive, that in 1909 Peary did not go much distance, if any distance, north of the Borup Camp at 85° 23′ (136 miles from land). It is at this camp that his narrative of the trip of 1909 noticeably begins to wobble. As soon thereafter as Marvin was out of the way, Peary certainly recrossed to the south side of the big lead and returned to the land ice for safety. On this land ice, worked his way west, and kept west, waiting for *time*. This must be true, because in no other way could he have returned to Cape Columbia after his long absence of 54 days. Had he gone very much farther north than the Borup Camp, he would, as has been shown, have been carried by the current out into the Atlantic Ocean.

With the invention established and the purpose of the invention known, we may justly indulge in reasonable conjecture based on this knowledge and on inferences properly drawn therefrom.

It is now quite evident, from a full knowledge of both stories, that Peary planned in his mind, to do in 1906 the very thing that he did do in 1909. That is to say, he intended then in 1906, as soon as he was alone, to return to the land ice for safety, and then eventually, at the proper time, return to Moss;

and then to plot for publication a straight line north and south, from Moss to the North Pole and back.

The truth of this theory is shown by the fact that when he had reached a point 98 miles north of Moss (in 1906), he was over 60 miles to the west of the meridian of Moss. There can, I think, be no reason advanced for such faulty navigation as this. There can be no excuse even for being in that location, providing he was bound for the North Pole. No navigator would be likely to waste over 50 per cent of his traveling distance the first 20 days out, when much of this time was on the solid, unmoving, land ice. A more reasonable explanation for his going almost as far west as north is, that he was taking the necessary precaution, against the easterly current, in order to keep in a safe position to the west so as to be permitted eventually to return (after his supporting parties had left him) to Moss.

The alleged diary from which I have quoted, of the 7½ days' march from Storm Camp could have been written for no other purpose than to serve as part of a proposed narrative of a trip to the North Pole. It covers, approximately 225 miles of northing. Had fortune favored Peary in 1906 and permitted him to have reached, with his supporting parties, a point one and one-half degrees of latitude further north before being stopped by the big lead, or had he been able to have crossed the lead immediately upon reaching it, thereby enabling him to have dismissed those supporting parties one by one and left him with his own sledges fully loaded with some 60 days' supplies, this diary then would have been adaptable and undoubtedly would have been used, and it would have made as complete a narrative of a "dash to the Pole" as the one he has published for 135 miles north of the Bartlett Camp. In fact the diary of 1906 for the 7½ marches is clearly the original from which the "dash" of 1909 was copied. This theory, therefore, which I have advanced as to Peary's purposes in 1906 can hardly be considered a conjecture, so complete is the evidence to support it. The following is a brief synopsis of this evidence.

First: The purported log book or diary of the 7½ marches is shown to be a pure invention which has no relevancy or bearing and is wholly unadapted to a trip that is limited to 87° 6′ north.

Second: It carries internal evidence that it was inserted in the book *Nearest the Pole* by error, mistake, or forgetfulness.

Third: In the lengths of the daily marches, in the total distance, and in the description of conditions throughout it carries evidence that it was written as part of a story of a trip to the North Pole.

Fourth: The mistake or error in its publication in the book *Nearest the Pole* (1906) having in three years time been undiscovered by the reading public, it was then copied and used in the book *North Pole* with no material change in its sentiment, its purpose, or its character. But changed only to adapt it to a 5 march trip instead of 7½ march trip.

Had he been able to have returned to Moss in 1906, it would have saved him the 1909 expedition. But he was unavoidably thwarted in this purpose. The uncrossable big lead; the unfortunate delay in opportunity to dismiss Ryan; the unavoidable 7 days' drift of his camp during this delay; and the sudden arising of the big storm; followed by another 7 days' drift; made it impossible during this long interval of time in consequence of this strong current for him to return over the ice to Moss, or even to reach land *anywhere west of Newmeyer*. There was, therefore, no way for him *even in a fictitious story*, on this occasion, in (1906) to ignore this unavoidable 135 miles of easterly drift. He was compelled by these inexorable circumstances and conditions to plot his straight line north from Newmeyer, instead of from Moss, and be satisfied with 87° 6′ instead of the North Pole.

The validity of any new geographical discovery, until otherwise verified, must reside in a narrative. The only way for Peary to have claimed the world's record for northing in 1906 was to write, which he supposed was, a plausible story; and to

plot a route representing that story. It is now perfectly obvious that he arbitrarily selected his northern point (in 1906) on the *50th meridian after his return to land directly north of his landing place, Newmeyer.* It was all he could have done that year. He fabricated all the parts of the story that could be fabricated. He could not ignore the drift.

The omission, therefore, of the effect of drift upon the traveling and concealing longitudes of the camps on the fictitious lines, are the *essence*, the prime elements, of the invention. With straight lines plotted north and south, all else are alleged facts that can be fabricated to conform to this paramount, vital requirement. The principal necessary features to accompany these straight lines are perfectly obvious. They are these: Go as far north as possible with supporting parties. When hope of further progress is gone, dismiss them. Then with trusty Henson and a few Eskimos, go somewhere with no one else to witness. Assume a northern destination. It is then a simple proposition to divide this distance into marches; prescribe conditions to fit the marches with no obstructions to rapid travel, have no delays, march every day to the limit, then strain a little beyond the limit in emergencies, of human or animal pedestrianism or endurance. These cardinal features are applied identically to, and they form the groundwork of, the alleged northern accomplishments in both the 1906 and 1909 stories. A weak feature to my mind in both is in not concealing Peary's simultaneous arrival to land, with Clark in 1906 and his probable simultaneous arrival with Bartlett in 1909. The scope of the invention, its general appliance and its obvious purpose, are the same in both stories; nevertheless it is after all, as may in conclusion yet be seen, very crude. It shows amazing lack of ingenuity or carelessness in copying so closely, too closely it seems, in 1909, the minor and unimportant details of the 1906 story. This carelessness robs each story of all merit of genuineness.

The *character* of this carelessness alone, indicates invention.

A few familiar illustrations will suffice to show it. He

starts a new story, with a new prelude, in both instances, as soon as his supporting parties are gone. *The very next day.* With a purpose evidently to prepare the reader's mind from what would otherwise be forthcoming shocks, he outlines a program in advance to fit the proposed distances, even to quinary districts. The traveling conditions in every respect, instantly change for the better. This also the very next day. A climax in conditions is reached in both stories towards the end when adjectives become monotonous, with a newly frozen lead of smooth ice trending "*north and south.*" In one case "*northeast and southwest*" when those directions at that time paralleled his course. The speed jumps instantly, the *first day,* to 6 times the average to that point; the average thereafter to the end, jumps to over twice the former maximum distance for a single march. Dogs gallop when tired, as they never did or could when fresh. Reaches the northern goal (as he had predicted in his prelude several days in advance,) in both instances, on a sunny day, just before noon, in time for an observation. Enters Storm Camp on the return as he did Bartlett's Camp, in a blizzard; and his eyes only give him trouble in both instances, from taking the northern observations. All these cannot in the nature of things, be coincidents. These cannot be a record of actual events copied from an original log book. The similarities in every feature are too great. It would seem that almost anybody could have invented something new for the second story.

The improvements or changes in the invention of 1906 are even more significant than is its subsequent application in 1909, because without them being made, it would have been impossible to apply the invention successfully in 1909. There were natural conditions and circumstances which made the invention inapplicable as a whole to that later journey. It needed modifying to fit those different circumstances. The fact that he made these modifications to exactly fit those different conditions and those different circumstances, proves again the invention.

A panoramic view of Diagram 17, or even of Peary's plotting on Map No. 2 will at once show that had anyone attempted to have gone as far north as the Pole, under conditions necessary to be described by Peary in 1906, as before shown, he would inevitably have drifted out into the Atlantic Ocean to the vicinity of Spitzbergen. This manifest inevitably must be smothered in a new story of a trip to the Pole to make the story plausible.

Two very important features of Arctic travel, as before said, are described in the story of 1906, which became necessary to be described in that year, in view of the impossibility of returning to the starting point, that *must not* be described in a story of a journey to the North Pole from any point on Grant Land, or from any point on Greenland. Such a story would be absolutely destitute of plausibility, if these features were included in the description. They are omitted, hence these omissions are pregnant with significance. One of these features, I will again repeat, is the disastrous easterly current experienced in going north in 1906, which played such havoc with steady navigation, broke up the expedition, and which prevented both Clark and Peary and probably others of the expedition from getting back to land as far west as Moss, or even to Sheridan. But omitting the effect of drift, would of course be futile without omitting also as a necessary complement to drift, any mention of longitude. In fact, the effect of drift could not be omitted without also concealing the truth about longitude. This is obvious. Peary himself has shown this obvious fact. When he reached the big lead in 1906 on March 26, he indicates that he supposed he was practically north of Point Moss on longitude 66° 30′. But his observation for longitude on the 30th, showed that he had arrived at the big lead on longitude 77° 32′. He took another observation for longitude on the 13th day of April, and found that he was then in longitude 61° 40′. Yet between the arrival at the lead on March 26 and the date when he took this last mentioned observation (April 13) he alleges that he had only made 3 marches directly north (from

Big Lead Camp to Storm Camp) F to G which should not have much changed his meridian. These longitudes exposed the drift. Longitudes always expose a drift, or error in a course; that is why they are obtained. Therefore, if one wishes to write a story of a trip from Grant Land or Greenland to the North Pole and return in the tracks of the outward march, it is essential that he eliminate both longitude and the effect of the drift, going north as well as returning south. Peary omits them both for the entire trip in 1909. With these amendments to the invention, it became just as useful in 1909 as it was in 1906, and would be just as useful for any distance north or south, and in fact from any imaginary base.

Peary claims to have gone north in 1909 on the 70th meridian, in the same month of March. He therefore would have crossed over the tracks of 1906 in two different places, encountering in 1909 the same easterly current, which is fully described by Borup. Yet he alleges that the tracks in that year (except at the grave of Marvin) remained unfaulted, 54 days, or until he sighted land on his return.

The remarkable similarities, therefore, in the design of the fictitious parts of the two expeditions; the pronounced results alleged to have been accomplished commencing immediately the day after leaving the last supporting party; the improbability checked in each instance by the almost simultaneous arrival on land by Clark and by Bartlett; the elimination of drift and longitudes, which were essential to the fictitious portions only of both expeditions; is convincing evidence to any intelligent person that all is invention. That it was clearly used in bothinstances to establish claims impossible of being true.

A distinguished author had said:

"I lay it down as a position that cannot be controverted, first that the agreement of all parts of a story does not prove that story to be true, because the parts may agree, and the whole may be false; secondly, that the *disagreement* of the part

of a story proves the *whole cannot be true.* The agreement does not prove truth, but the disagreement proves falsehood positively."

The peculiar similarities in the narratives of 1906 and of 1909 are so marked, the diversity in results occurring in both years instantly on the day after the separation from the white men; the diversion including weather, ice conditions, speed, delays, conditions of sledges, and each and all continuing in both cases to the end, the significant discrepancy in the speed, in both instances over the same ice and at the same time, are so pronounced that they can have but one meaning, and no explanation possibly can be offered that will reconcile these similarities with truth. The speed on the return of Clark in 1906, and that of Bartlett in 1909, both conforming with the outward march, and the speed of Peary when alone, in each instance on his return over the same space doubling his outward speed, all considered together forges a chain of circumstantial evidence so strong, and without a missing link, that it leaves no room even for a reasonable doubt.

My chief purpose in making this later expose is to prove by corroborative, convincing and irrefragable circumstantial evidence that the story of the trip to the Pole is pure invention. That the story is a second use of one invention, and that the amendments prove that it is invention.

It must be remembered in considering my analysis of either of Peary's books, that I do not use a word of evidence presented by Peary's enemies, but only that which he, himself, has written, which is evidence that is unquestionable and beyond dispute.

Any person who will read chapters 5, 6 and 7, which I am now reviewing, in the book *"Nearest the Pole,"* with an open mind and close attention, cannot fail, I think, to note that Peary has by his own hand, branded himself as an impostor, and that the scar is burned so deep, that nothing in this world but oblivion can erase it.

It is plain enough that if one can in a story, without furnishing collateral evidence to support it, deliberately absent himself from available witnesses; and while absent smooth down the pressure ridges of the polar sea; close all open water spaces; ignore all drift; conceal his meridian whereabouts; have all winds fair; and augment his speed to suit his ends; one can readily travel back and forth, over any pack ice, on any selected meridian, over any sea, as easily, as readily and as direct, as he can pace fore and aft on a quarter deck, but

> "foul deeds will rise, though all the
> world overwhelm them to men's eyes."

This story was published to the world and universally accepted as true. What wonderful fortune this must have been for Peary's reputation and for his contemporary fame! In 1907 this book, *Nearest the Pole* came out containing these chapters which I have reviewed. The book passed muster. Cagni's and Nansen's Stars were apparently eclipsed by an American. What a desperate hazard Peary seemingly took! How fortunate his escape! We may imagine to what extent the seductive charm of popular applause, then sweetened his throbbing breast, as he listened to the echoes of his renown, reverberating around the world. He may well have been misguided into convincing himself that his work was the inspiration of genius. An unparalleled opportunity then seemingly opened its portals to this apparently indomitable hero. The temptation was colossal. He may have asked himself, "If 87° 6′ so easily, why not the North Pole?" And echo naturally would have answered him, "*Why not?*"

It would serve no useful purpose at this place in my review to mince matters or hesitate about words. The plain truth is this:

The alleged journey to 87° 6′ with such an equipment as Peary had was an utter impossibility. Such a journey with such an equipment always will be an impossibility from either Greenland or Grant Land. Loaded sledges such as Peary had, could not reasonably be expected to travel over the drifting

pack ice, at an average speed of more than three miles per day, as shown by Peary's own record which is not speed enough to overcome the current. *Nansen did not make three miles a day in his attempt to advance north.* It would have taken Peary six months to have made the distance he claims to have made in 26 days. In that six months, all the men and dogs would have starved and their skeletons would have drifted on the ice, far down in the north Atlantic. It would be idiocy for any one to attempt to defend Peary's claim to 87° 6′. It is as false as sin can make it, and the claimant has proven himself to be a conscienceless impostor.

This expose is more far reaching than proving Peary false. To obtain such pinchbeck glory, by polluting the pages of history and staining the records of Arctic exploration is iniquity indeed. But the attempt by such unrighteous means to filch the glory from the brilliant, hard earned, superman achievements of Cagni and of Nansen, is nothing short of infamy.

CHAPTER IX

HOW PEARY DISCREDITED COOK

"And history shall loathe and blame
Such glory, tarnished by so deep a shame."

If the disclosures so far submitted indicate that Peary has practiced deception, his actions elsewhere with regard to Cook furnish collateral evidence in support of such an indication. Inasmuch as Peary's first move against Cook was made at Etah before Peary went north to Sheridan, the conditions there and the attendant circumstances will be recited so that we may view this matter in its true light.

September 1, 1907, Dr. Frederick A. Cook left Etah, Greenland, in the yacht John R. Bradley, for Annoatok about 60 miles farther north (about 30 miles in a straight line across the peninsula) arriving the next day. Annoatok is the most northerly settlement in the world. It is in sight of Cape Sabine, across Smith Sound, which is the spot where the starving survivors of the Greeley expedition were rescued in 1884 by Admiral Schley. After landing a supply of stores, the yacht returned leaving Cook and Rudolf Francke to spend the arctic winter there, in preparation for the polar journey, and incidentally to accumulate furs and ivory.

Cook, during the long arctic night gave employment in various ways to nearly all the 250 Eskimos composing the tribe. He established his main relief station at Annoatok, in order to safeguard himself in the event that the fate of Greeley should befall him. Later events proved that he was wise in so doing. On February 19, 1908, he started from Annoatok. He left Rudolf Francke, the only white man in the country, in charge of

his storehouse, trunks, stores, furs and ivory. He made a second cache of stores at Svartevoeg, at the north end of Axel Heiberg Land. On March 18, 1908, he started from Svartevoeg on his dash for the Pole with provisions for eighty days. After traveling 3 days on the Polar Sea, he sent written instructions back to Francke by the Eskimo Koolootingwah. Cook tells of this message: "Because of this uncertainty, Francke was instructed to wait (in Annoatok) until June 5, 1908, and if we did not return he was told to place Koolootingwah in charge (of the stores, etc.) and go home, either by the whalers, or by the Danish ships to the south. No relief which he could offer, would help us, and to wait for an indefinite time alone, would have inflicted a needless hardship. This and many other instructions were prepared for Koolootingwah and Inugito to take back." June 5, 1908, arrived and passed, but no tidings came from Cook to Francke, who in the meantime had fallen ill.

In August 11 of the same year (1908) Peary reached Etah in the *Roosevelt* on his way north to winter quarters at Cape Sheridan. His collier *Erik* also arrived with Harry P. Whitney, a New Haven huntsman on board. Whitney remained at Annoatok during the winter. Francke later had to return to civilization, as he was ill. He was permitted by Peary to go on the *Erik*, but only on condition that he first surrender Cook's property to him, and not to Koolootingwah, as required by the written instructions of Cook.* This property included, besides Cook's relief stores and ivory, a trunk containing valuable furs. Francke's statement is as follows: "Dr. Cook is the greatest martyr of modern times and Peary has filched his glory. I followed Dr. Cook to Annoatok, saw his preparations for the polar trip, and ventured the opinion that the chances were 100 to 1 that he would reach the Pole. I was taken sick

*A year later similar tactics were pursued by Peary when Whitney was returning on the *Roosevelt*. He was forbidden by Peary to take with him a single item belonging to Dr. Cook and was therefore obliged to leave among the rocks of Etah instruments and documents which had been left in his care by Cook.

and had to return on one of Peary's ships. Commander Peary consented to take me home on the steamer *Erik*, if I gave him 200 blue Arctic fox skins belonging to Dr. Cook, which I carried with me. I was compelled to accept the terms to save my life. The skins were worth $10,000. Peary presented them to prominent Americans, former President Roosevelt being one of them. Dr. Cook never mentioned the loss of the skins."*

As soon as Francke had left on the *Erik*, Peary proceeded to cache a two years' reserve supply of stores of his own, at Etah, in the event he should lose his ship. He left his bo's'n, Murphy ostensibly in charge of these stores, with Wm. Pritchard, the cabin boy to keep him company. He left both written and oral instructions with Murphy, which are fully related by Pritchard and Whitney. The written instructions were evidently for the record, or historical purposes, in the event Peary's expedition never returned. The oral instructions only were to be obeyed. This distinction appears to have been mutually understood. In the written instructions (Murphy could not read a word of them, or write a word, or make a figure, and was not expected to), Peary described his own cache at Etah as "*stores for the relief of Dr. Cook.*" He also uses the same phrase in his report to the Government dated August 8, 1908. These written instructions also provided for sending out a "*relief expedition for Dr. Cook*, if he did not return at the appointed time" (June 5, 1908.) These alleged instructions were of course, meaningless and insincere, because the appointed time that Cook designated for Francke to wait for him was June 5, 1908. Peary's instructions, therefore, were issued more than two months past the appointed time as Peary was in Etah August 17. If Peary had wished to have sent a relief expedition to Cook, he would have instructed it to proceed at once. It is needless to add that no expedition was ever sent although Murphy lived in Cook's storehouse, and from his stores a full year after that date.

*Francke's affidavit published in the Tourist Magazine of Oct. 1910 gives a fuller account of the transaction.

Immediately upon Francke's departure on the *Erik*, Murphy was verbally instructed to close Peary's storehouse at Etah, and move with Pritchard and the hunter Whitney into Cook's storehouse at Annoatok, 30 miles north, and live upon those supplies. This they did, and with neatness and dispatch, under the verbal instructions, began to "relieve Dr. Cook" of every vestige of his own relief stores and property, which he had left behind at Annoatok, and had spent an Arctic winter in accumulating. Wm. Pritchard, Peary's cabin boy, is reported* to have said, that Peary's verbal instructions to Murphy and himself were explicit (this is corroborated by Whitney, and I understand by an affidavit by Murphy), that they should consume all of Cook's supplies at Annoatok before touching any of Peary's supplies at Etah. This, he says, they immediately proceeded to do. They had continued under these instructions for over a year when the Peary expedition returned from the North, at which time, after some philanthropy to the Eskimos, they are reported to have bartered what remained, for furs, ivory, etc. The verbal instructions were obeyed. The written were evidently intentionally and entirely ignored. This would seem incredible were it not undisputed.

When this work at Annoatok and Etah was completed to his satisfaction, Peary wrote a report to the Secretary of the Navy with a copy to the Supt. of U. S. and Geodetic Survey, that he had "landed two men at Etah with supplies for the relief of Dr. Cook." On Aug. 18, Peary steamed northward to winter quarters at Cape Sheridan and thence to the Polar Sea. Cook had not been heard from since he left Axel Heiberg Land the March before; where he was to winter, Peary did not know. If alive he was in destitution. These stores were at that moment a matter of life or death to him could he but reach them. Peary knew this. He also knew that under such conditions many relief expeditions had been sent, and many lives had been sacrificed in the search for Sir John Franklin. A similar expedition was at that moment being organized by

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others for Dr. Cook. Such is the common instinct of humanity.

Peary was familiar with such history, but he also knew that his ship *Roosevelt* might be lost with all its stores, and taking a selfish view, he must have seen that here was a double opportunity, first to protect himself, second to control possibly the only means of a rival's success. He, therefore, chose to take possession of Cook's stores and hold them for his own necessities, or for such other use as would promote his ends. In consequence the spring of 1909 arrived with Cook's stores in Peary's hands. This is a peculiar transaction. The writings separated from the real instructions, would show a spirit of fraternal benevolence and generosity on the part of Peary. But the facts which it is attempted to suppress, contradict the written record, which written record alone Peary had published. Such duplicity is wholly inconsistent with a sincere, candid, or scientific mind, and cannot be attributed to a genuine searcher for geographical knowledge. This transaction, which although published,* has never been denied, is believed to be without precedent in Arctic exploration. It is not the deed of a Parry, Hudson, Greeley, or any other great modern discoverer. It is linked with earlier less civilized days. Inasmuch as these actions at Annoatok could in no way assist Peary in his quest of the Pole, or on his return homeward, having ample stores of his own, they must have been inspired by motives of jealousy or avarice. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to understand that a mind which would not scruple at execution of such a plot, or which is governed by such motives, might not hesitate long or seriously, as to the manner of writing a diary.

Cook at that very moment was on the verge of starvation, trudging with a part of a sled toward Annoatok for food and supplies. He had already survived a winter as probably no other man in written history had, without food, fuel, or ammunition. With nothing but his hands and one sled, he faced the approaching Arctic winter at Cape Sparbo on Jones' Sound. With part of a sled runner, he made the only weapon with which

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he could supply food and fuel for three men, and made a den into which they crawled till the six months winter was passed. Finally, after fourteen months absence, on April 18, 1909, while Peary was still north, Cook with his two Eskimo companions, Ahwela and Etukishook, returned to Annoatok. He was "foot-sore, weary, ragged, hungry, and worn to a skeleton." They were all three so famished and exhausted that miles before they reached Annoatok, they dropped their sled, containing the instruments, and continued without it, sending other Eskimos back for it.

As Cook approached his storehouse, Harry P. Whitney, went to meet him with a sled and dogs, and informed him of the new situation and the changed conditions at the storehouse. Peary's bo's'n Murphy who had been in possession, Pritchard who was with him, and Whitney, were all strangers to Cook. These three white men, were the only white men he saw while he remained in Annoatok, or Etah. They were, in fact, the only white people in the country. Cook had some dispute with Murphy about assuming such unwarrantable and cruel authority over his property, and Cook says "I ordered him out instantly, and made him stay out too, until I discovered that he would freeze to death. Then in hospitality, I admitted him." Pritchard says that Cook, after being admitted to the cabin, made himself comfortable, said but little and retired for the night, as did Whitney, Murphy and himself. Murphy, before the others had arisen next morning, left for Etah, 30 miles south. (Cook only saw him once again, a few days afterward, as he was passing through Etah, enroute home.)

Cook then quietly said to Whitney (not noticing Pritchard in a berth), "If you will pledge secrecy until after the *Roosevelt* has reached civilization, I have *great news* to tell you. I have been to the Pole." Pritchard overheard this statement, and Cook then requested that he also keep it secret so that Peary might hear it first when he reached home. Pritchard promised.

Notwithstanding Cook's famished condition, he loaded a
'ving a memorandum receipt of the articles taken) and

on the 21st of April three days after his arrival, he started with Koolootingwah on foot over the ice and snow of Greenland, to form a connection with civilization at Upernavik, and to thrill the world with the news of his great achievement. He hoped by making great haste, to reach civilization ahead of Peary who was still in the north. He realized the chance of disappointment and the possibility of his own death enroute. Whitney who had been friendly with Cook since his arrival, was expecting his own ship *Jeanie* to arrive soon to take him home; possibly ahead of Peary. Considering these circumstances, Cook decided to leave his instruments and some documents in Whitney's care, as the safer method of transportation and also to lighten his own load. The same reasoning induced Cook to intrust his secret to Whitney so that in case he should die on his perilous journey of 700 miles, history would get his story, as well as the instruments and documents. Whatever may have been Cook's reason that is what he did. This briefly was the status of affairs at Annoatok when Cook departed south on April 21, 1909, previous to Peary's return from the north.

I will now proceed to Peary's examination of Cook's two Eskimos.

It should be kept in mind that Whitney and Pritchard were the only persons in the Arctic at this time, who knew of Cook's claims of discovery of the North Pole. Ahwela and Etukishook did not know what Cook had told Whitney and Pritchard. They only knew the facts, whatever they were and they were also pledged to secrecy. Let us study this point. If Cook had actually been to the Pole, and sincerely wished to keep it secret for the present, it was essential that he should have pledged these two Eskimos to secrecy before their arrival at Annoatok. If on the other hand, he did not go to the Pole, there was no secret to be kept, and silence was all sufficient. The two Eskimos knew nothing of any false claim that Cook may have had in mind. They knew the facts. But Whitney and Pritchard knew no facts. They only knew what Cook had said.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that Cook would tell

Whitney and Pritchard that he had been to the Pole if it were untrue, because he would know that the two Eskimos could contradict it after he was gone, and everyone would know that he was planning a falsehood. In like manner, if it were true that Cook had been to the Pole, the Eskimos would corroborate it, (which it is reported they afterwards did to Whitney, when they were hunting with him). Whitney, himself, after remaining in the community of the Eskimos for four months thereafter is reported to have said, "I am perfectly convinced that Cook went to the Pole."

The pledges of secrecy were sacredly kept by both Whitney and Pritchard. There is not a scrap of evidence, that either of them, ever intimated to anyone, at Annoatok or at Etah, before the arrival of Peary, that they had received that news from Cook. Peary is reported to have said that he had no discussion on the subject with either Pritchard or Whitney, and Murphy, who afterwards spent months in the same cabin with them, says that not a word of it was mentioned to him. Later when Cook learned of Peary's opposition to his claims, he sent a wireless message from mid-ocean that William Pritchard, the cabin boy on the *Roosevelt*, knew of his going to the Pole. The associated press dispatched Mr. Regan, their agent, to Battle Harbor to interview Pritchard. Peary, and every member of the crew including Murphy, were astonished, when they learned through Regan, for the first time that Pritchard had carried this secret inviolate. Pritchard even waited until Regan showed him Cook's telegram before he would answer a question. Whitney, who had started south with Peary, had left the *Roosevelt* at North Star, (about 125 miles south of Etah) to join his own ship *Jeanie*, (which they met there), and did not return to civilization for several weeks at which time he was similarly interviewed at Cook's suggestion. For the purpose of simplifying this discussion we can now eliminate, not only Cook, but also Whitney and Pritchard, from further considera-
tion, as they undoubtedly kept their promises to Cook. The

news about the Pole could not have been promulgated at Etah by these two men.

Ahwela and Etukishook, Cook's two Eskimos, were then in their homes, mingling among the 175 remaining Etah Eskimos, many of whom are their relatives, and all of whom are their friends. These boys were the only people who knew of the travels of Cook's party. If they did not go to the Pole, such a subject or thought would no more be likely to enter their minds, than would the coming of a comet. No one had ever been there, and at all events none of the Eskimos had ever been there, and would not be likely to be interested in such speculative thoughts. Whatever Cook's companions said about the North Pole among their relatives would be what they supposed to be the truth. It is possible that one might be more inclined than the other to be reticent, or to respect Cook's wishes as to secrecy until Peary passed south. We may, if we wish, imagine in consequence of this, some possible difference in what, or how much, each might have said; but there can be no question whatever that only what they, or one of them did say, became known. If either said he went to the Pole, it must under these peculiar circumstances, be true, at least he must have supposed it to be true; and even if the other denied it (out of respect to Cook's request) it would still very likely be true. Neither one of them would have spoken of the matter without some reason for doing so. What object would induce one of them to say to his own family that he had been to the Pole, and say it in face of the contradiction of his companion, and in violation of his pledge to Cook, knowing it was not true? If this news were true, it could not be kept secret; but if it were false, it would not, and could not, be promulgated, under those environments and conditions. Therefore, if such knowledge got abroad, it was at least true that one or the other of these Eskimos promulgated it. If either of them mentioned anything about having been to the North Pole, it was because they thought they had been there. The news did get abroad and Peary furnished the evidence of that fact.

On July 18, 1909, the *Roosevelt* with the Peary arctic party on board, steamed south from Cape Sheridan, for home. They touched at Zerke, Cape Sumarez, meeting there some Eskimo hunters from Etah, who informed them of Cook's return, and *of his claim to have reached the North Pole.* Nine days later, July 27, the *Roosevelt* reached Etah, where Cook's two Eskimo companions lived. As was natural, Peary interviewed these two Eskimos before departing for home. Immediately on reaching communication with civilization, Peary flashed the news that "Cook should not be taken too seriously as the Eskimos say he did not go far from land," and that as soon as the public sees his conclusive proofs of Cook's "gold brick," which he will publish on his arrival, there will be a universal opinion that Cook is a falsifier. This was the first public knowledge of any dispute or jealousy. Peary was severely criticised for the sensational tone of his announcement. One writer said: "It does not sound like the voice of a scientist with serene confidence in the truth of his message." Instead of publishing his proofs against Cook when he arrived, Peary first withheld them, then later presented them to the Peary Arctic Club for Approval. The Arctic Club deliberated over them for about three weeks. The entire world waited in suspense. The only person who was apparently undisturbed was Cook.

It was announced at the time that Peary's proofs against Cook were referred by Thomas L. Hubbard, the president, to Antone Raven, then to Herbert L. Bridgeman, then to Zenas Crane, then to Parish, members of the Club. They spent several weeks struggling over the predicament in which they were so innocently placed. Peary had given such extravagant assurances, that there was no way of escape. They must concoct something for the Eskimos to say, and then screw up sufficient courage to permit its publication. How to formulate such a statement in an attempt to prove Cook a falsifier, and not at the same time incidentally prove him to be an actual discoverer, was a puzzle. They finally agreed upon an evasive, misleading

quibble, which was launched as Peary's production. The day after its publication, the press of the world had cartoons of "the Mountain laboured and brought forth a Mouse." The statement was instantly dropped from sight. It is only resurrected now, for post-mortem purposes.

These so called proofs contain first a statement from Peary as follows:* "On my return from Cape Sheridan and at the very first settlement I touched (Zerke, near Cape Chalon) in August, 1909, and nine days before reaching Etah, the Eskimos told me, in a general way where Dr. Cook had been; that he had wintered in Jones's Sound and that he had told the white men at Etah that he had been a long way North, but that the boys who were with him, Etukishook and Ahwelah, said that this was not so. The Eskimos laughed at Dr. Cook's story. On reaching Etah, I talked with the Eskimos there and with the two boys and asked them to describe Dr. Cook's journey to members of my party and myself. This they did in the manner stated below.

(Signed) R. E. PEARY."

This ambiguity has an ominous appearance at the start. He says he heard this in a general way, *i. e.* not in a definite way, not in a clear, positive, unequivocal way. Peary and his men were all risking their lives for the sole purpose of discovering the North Pole. But when the news that their goal had been achieved by another during their absence, was mentioned in that lonely place, they casually listened to its being told "in a general way" and the information they obtained was so indefinite and vague, that it could not be more clearly stated than in the quotation above! This statement when published, it must be remembered had been revised, so as to furnish the final proof as to who was, and who was not, the actual discoverer of the Pole!

Read it carefully. Ahwelah and Etukishook "said that this was not so." That is; these two boys, the only two persons from whom such information could possibly come, are placed in

*In all daily papers.

the attitude of having to deny a current assertion, and a rumor about themselves in a vain attempt to prevent it from making headway in a community where no one would entertain it for a moment unless it issued from them, or had their approval. The presumption of such an absurdity, surely condemns this part of the statement. It is clear, therefore, that it makes but little difference, in what phraseology the Peary Arctic Club chose to put this statement forward. The one *vital fact*, leaps inevitably to the front: the knowledge that the Cook expedition had reached the Pole was abroad in Annoatok and Etah before Peary reached there on his return from the North. It was *knowledge* not hearsay. If Peary did actually hear what he says he heard at Zerke, it could only have come originally from one or the other, or both of the two Cook Eskimos. Experience was the only way for them to get this news.

Has Peary stated exactly what he heard? What does he mean by "told in a general way" and "a long way North?" What did the two Eskimos actually say "was not so"? The inference from Peary's statement is, if put into plain language, that these people at Zerke whom Peary met, told him unequivocally, that Dr. Cook had returned and gone on south, and that while at Annoatok he told Whitney and Pritchard that he had been to the Pole. But as soon as Cook's companions Ahwela and Etukishook heard of it, they both said it was not true, that they did not go to the Pole. Peary's language clearly implies that Ahwela and Etukishook voluntarily said that neither they nor Cook had been to the North Pole. If Peary does not infer this, he infers nothing; and, therefore, there was no occasion for his saying anything.

Let us assume that this document means what it infers; not what it says, because it says nothing. Peary, or rather the revised and censored statement, prevaricates and evades, but does not say that Cook told Whitney or Pritchard anything, at Annoatok. He says he told "the white men at Etah" and as there were none at Etah, that means nobody. He does not say that Cook said he went to the North Pole, but "a long way

North." This is dissembling and deceptive, but not necessarily false. Then the boys said "this was not so." This means nothing. It may indicate that Cook didn't say a "long way North" or that he didn't say anything; or what he did say, he didn't say "to white men." Then, the Eskimos told him about this subject "in a general way," not distinctly, not directly, not positively, that is to say, they did not say a word which can be disputed. And that is true. It is essential to refer in this manner, to this seemingly ridiculous performance, in order to understand its object, and get the true situation.

Disregarding the ambiguity of the expressions, we are, nevertheless face to face with facts. One thing is true. The news that Cook's expedition had been to the Pole was abroad at Etah and vicinity and it originated through the only channel possible, *viz.* one (or both) of the two Cook Eskimos. It would have been impossible for Peary to hear something non-existent. All writers on Eskimos' traits are agreed that Eskimos among themselves, are truthful. It would be hard to conceive of any race of men, who would have acted differently from these Eskimos, under the circumstances in which they were placed. Cook had returned to his friends. The Eskimos were among their friends. Cook had requested, for his own purposes, not theirs, that they keep a secret for him until his purposes were accomplished. The only object of the secrecy was obviously to keep it from Peary until he arrived at civilization. This they were willing to pledge themselves to do, but what harm in telling it to their family, and to their immediate friends in the Arctic? It would be natural for them to do so, and that is undoubtedly what they did. They did not reason, or calculate, or realize the consequences of their gossip nor did they expect that in such a wonderfully accidental way, the news would reach Peary, before he arrived at Etah. However, they told it, no one else could tell it. The news was already spread through the tribe of 175 Etah Eskimos then at home, and Peary heard it at Zerke.

The only object Peary had in questioning Cook's Eskimos

was to see if they would deny that they had been to the Pole; if they would contradict Cook's reported statement. Peary did not want to procure the truth of Cook's story for science, or for history. He wanted them to contradict it. That is all he could have wanted. He was on his way to civilization to make his own claims, stopping for a week where Cook's two boys lived. He knew them personally. What explanation should he make when he reached home, and was questioned by Cook as to what they said? Should he say they confirmed his statement, or that they contradicted it? He must say one thing or the other, as he had seen them since Cook had left them. If the answer had been unsatisfactory or ambiguous, or showed a disposition on the part of the Eskimos to conceal the truth, Peary could and would have followed it with other questions, in an effort to bring out clearly the real truth. He could have cross-examined them and would have learned the truth.

He learned the truth, no doubt. If the Eskimos had contradicted it, Peary would undoubtedly have blazoned it in the skies if possible, where all the world might see it. If he could not truthfully say they contradicted it, must he necessarily tell the truth, and say they affirmed it? Not exactly. He could prevaricate; he could dissemble, he could equivocate, and this is exactly what he did. There could not be better evidence that they supported Cook in his claims. It is an axiom, that "he who evades a question ostensibly answers it." The omission to say it was contradicted is an admission that it was affirmed. Peary could have pursued no other course than he did, in view of the truth, unless he was ready to surrender the honors voluntarily to Cook.

The truth must stand every test. If Dr. Cook went to the Pole, these two Eskimos went to the Pole. Regardless of what they may or may not say, they both knew whether they went there or not, or at least they thought they knew. It will now be assumed that they did not go there, but turned back at the 4th polar camp. Cook and these Eskimos when they arrived

at Annoatok had definite knowledge of their position. Others might be deceived by false claims, but none of these could. Under these circumstances, Cook would not tell his Eskimos on his arrival at Annoatok that they had been to the Pole. For obviously similar reasons, he would not tell them they had not been there. One statement would have been as absurd as the other. It is safe to assume, therefore, that he told them neither story, because there would have been no reason for his doing so. If he told them nothing, they could know nothing about any false claims he intended to make when he reached civilization. It surely was not his purpose to deceive the Eskimos! Cook, therefore, did not tell them; Whitney did not tell them; Pritchard did not tell them, who could tell them? Nobody. And nobody did tell them. And nobody says that anybody did. They could not know, nor even have heard, of any such claims, intending to be made by Cook. This is logical, and true, and shows conclusively that any other situation was absolutely impossible under our hypothesis. Not one Eskimo in that country, at that time, could have known of such a claim, if these two Eskimos had not supposed it to be true and told it themselves. It could only be known, if true, or supposed to be true. But the claim was known. There must be some error in our premises, the demonstration is as clear, simple, and sound as that two and two make four. There can be but one error, as we started out with only one premise; and that premise and that error are in the assumption that these two Eskimos did not go to the Pole. They must, therefore, have gone there or thought that they went there, because they could not tell what they did not know, and since it was told, it must have been they who told it. They told what they knew (or supposed they knew). This conclusion is irresistible and unavoidable.

Let us assume now that the two Eskimos *did* go to the Pole. If they went to the Pole, Cook went also. They would not under these circumstances, on arrival at Annoatok, need to remind each other of it. They all knew it, although they might

not tell it. Cook was anxious to announce the news when he reached civilization; possibly the Eskimos were just as anxious to tell of it in uncivilization; but either could suppress the information if he wanted to, and would do so undoubtedly if he desired. Cook did desire to suppress it for a limited time as a safe guard. The Eskimos had no such reason. It would have been useless for Cook to commit Whitney to secrecy, and not Pritchard; and equally useless to pledge both white men and leave the two Eskimos free to divulge it. He, therefore, commits them all to secrecy, until Peary passes south. This is undisputed. Thus the information about the Pole is locked up, as far as the Arctic is concerned, in the same manner as in our first hypothesis. Nobody in the Arctic knows a word as to what Cook will claim, (excluding from consideration Whitney and Pritchard, who kept their pledges). Peary, on his return from Cape Sheridan infers that nine days before he reached Etah he was told that Cook had returned, and claimed to have been to the North Pole. No one could have given out that knowledge but those who had it; *viz.*, the two Cook Eskimos. If they gave it out, they *had it* to give out.

This solves the mystery as in our first hypothesis, Peary and the Peary Arctic Club, may have thought that the actual facts were perfectly concealed in the evasive phraseology of their skillful statement. It does not make a particle of difference what language is used, or what was said, or not said. One vital FACT is disclosed. Peary can truthfully deny having made a single positive statement regarding this matter. But he cannot deny having had presented to him, nine days before reaching Etah, the important fact that the report was abroad in the Arctic that Cook and his Eskimos had been to the North Pole. The existence of that knowledge, as has been shown, is of itself convincing evidence of its truth. Peary has proven, that knowledge of Cook's going to the Pole, was given out voluntarily, by his companions to their families, or relatives in Etah, and we have shown that the circumstances were such that it could not have been knowl-

edge, unless it were true or supposed to be true. Having proven this by Peary's first report, we will now try to corroborate it by his report of his examination of the Cook Eskimos at Etah, and later by the acts of the Peary Arctic Club in New York.

The comment which the Peary examiners made and published in the daily papers is interesting as a preliminary to the questions themselves. Here it is:

"During the taking of this testimony, it developed that Dr. Cook had told these boys, as he told Mr. Whitney and Billy Pritchard, the cabin boy, that they must not tell Commander Peary or any of us anything about their journey, and the boys stated Dr. Cook had threatened them if they should tell anything."

"After sleeping at the camp where the last two Eskimos turned back, Dr. Cook and the two boys went in a northerly or northwesterly direction with two sledges and twenty dogs, one more march when they encountered rough ice and a lead of open water. They did not enter this rough ice, or cross the lead, but turned westward to Heiberg Land at a point west of where they had left the cache and where the four men turned back.

"Here they remained four or five sleeps and during that time, Etukishook went back to the cache and got his gun which he had left there, and a few items of supplies.

"When asked why only a few supplies were taken from the cache, the boys replied that only a small amount of provisions had been used in the few days since they left the cache, and that their sledges still had all they could carry so that they could not take more. After being informed of the boy's narrative thus far, Commander Peary suggested a series of questions to put to the boys, in regard to this trip from the land out and back to it."

The above sentences contain only information given by the examiners, on a narrative made by the Eskimos. It does not even purport to be the narrative itself. No questions are shown, or answers given to show how this information was reached.

The report does not say who asked the questions. That

part is kept secret. The answers were given by Ahwela or Etukishook, or both; but by which of them the report does not show. These omissions were necessary for full immunity to Peary. The following are all the alleged questions put to Cook's Eskimos and all their alleged answers.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. Did they cross any open leads or much water during this time?
 Ans. None.
2. Did they make any caches out on the ice?
 Ans. No.
3. Did they kill any bear or seal while out on the ice north of Cape Thomas Hubbard?
 Ans. No.
4. With how many sledges did they start?
 Ans. Two.
5. How many dogs did they have?
 Ans. Did not remember exactly, but something over 20.
6. How many sledges did they have when they got back to land?
 Ans. Two.
7. Did they have any provisions left on their sledges when they came back to land?
 Ans. Yes.

There is not a word in those questions or answers that corroborates either of Peary's *four* statements as to where Cook turned back. Not a word of inquiry made in an endeavor to ascertain where Cook went. Not a word is uttered that indicates that anybody in Etah knew that "Cook had told the white men" anything. Not a word about "a long way North" or the "*North Pole.*"

Yet this inquisition was held at the only place where such a record could have been made. The Eskimos had no oppor-

tunity to affirm or deny the claim that they had been to the North Pole, because the question was not asked. This is strange and appears significant.

Whether these two Cook Eskimos were informed of what Peary had heard at Zerke from the hunters, is not reported, and is immaterial. They must have realized their embarrassing position for they told Peary, so he says, of their pledge to Cook, not to tell him where they did go. They must also, at the same time have observed the jealousy, manifested by Peary. If by *agreement* they were not asked whether they went to the Pole; if they had said to Peary what he wanted them to say, that they went a short distance from land, they kept their promise to Cook, and their friendship with both. But there is no evidence that they said even that. If it be a fact that they actually had, before Peary's arrival technically broken their promise to Cook by telling some friend that they went to the Pole, it was probably because they could not help it, or felt no necessity, or saw no great importance in with-holding such a burning secret any longer, now Cook was gone.*

Having knowledge of the fact that Cook claimed to have been to the Pole, it is presumed that Peary did not strain himself seriously, in urging the Eskimos to repeat it too often, or too loudly in the presence of the rest of his party.† He may have

*Cook says the subject was general knowledge at Zerke when he and Koolootingwah passed through on his way home.

†Possibly Whitney may have at this time let out the secret to Peary. Henson indicates in his book under date of August 17, 1909, in rather an ambiguous way that when Whitney came on board the *Roosevelt* at Etah he violated Cook's confidence to Peary and gave out the secret about Cook's reaching the Pole.

Published interviews with Peary since his return to civilization give various versions as to whether or not Whitney said anything about Cook's claims. But Whitney was stranded and in a similar position to that of Rudolf Francke the year before. He must return with Peary on the *Roosevelt* or await the arrival of his own relief craft later. When Peary learned that Whitney had in his trunk some instruments and documents belonging to Cook he refused to allow him passage until he had left behind everything belonging to Cook. Hence Bartlett and Whitney took them ashore and cached them in the rocks at Etah. If Peary had so desired he could have put categorical questions to Whitney as to what he knew regarding Cook's claims and demanded categorical answers upon penalty if refused of remaining in Etah. Anyway we may with safety admit upon Peary's arrival at Etah that he learned from Whitney that Cook had told him he had been to the Pole. With this probable knowledge, he proceeded with the inquisition.

strictly limited the interviews between them, and undoubtedly dictated the character of the questions that should be asked, and what answer should be recorded, and what omitted. All this, if skillfully managed, left smooth sailing for both sides. The Eskimos may have answered the questions put to them in the way they are reported by the Peary Arctic Club.

It must be conceded, however, that the question "Did you go to the Pole?" was asked by some one, and the answer known. Peary was not obliged to publish any more of the questions or answers than he wished, but this one question had to be asked. He does not report such a question, but it was asked. It was essential. It was the only object of asking them anything. Even if the answer was plain and unequivocal, it still need not be published; but the question was asked, nevertheless and was answered. No one can deny this successfully, because no one with an ounce of intelligence would have omitted it. It would be preposterous to even intimate the possibility of omitting it.

If the answer had been "No," Peary would have published it in his report. This also must be conceded. Because it is omitted from the report, the answer must have been "Yes." One may search the report from end to end and read between lines, he will find no question asked, that gave those boys the slightest opportunity to say whether or not they went to the Pole. This was the sole object of the examination.

Did Peary want to know, or did he not care whether in truth it was a rumor, or a fact, that Cook was actually claiming, or proposed to claim that he had been to the North Pole a year previous? Did Peary not want to protect the civilized world against such a monstrous fraud, when it was so easily in his power to do so, and by so doing safeguard his own fame [illegible]verer? Is this omission not significant? Do not [illegible] and his omissions plainly sustain every position

herein maintained, that Cook's Eskimos went to the Pole, or thought that they did; that they told it; that they could not be induced to deny it?* In view of the fact that Peary made such a meaningless inquisition, it cannot be said he was indifferent. The report shows that he was desperate.

Suppose the answer was "No, we did not go to the Pole," what then? What would Peary, and his allies have done in such a case? Would they have suppressed it? Would they have drawn a blue pencil through that question and that answer, after it was recorded, and report in its stead such a foolish question in the circumstances and answer as: "Did you kill any bear or seal while out on the ice north of Cape Thomas Hubbard?" Ans. "No"?

This is impossible and unworthy of belief. The evidence is conclusive, that the question was asked and answered "Yes, we went to the Pole." This is a consistent explanation of the reason for writing this wonderfully deceptive report. Every question and every answer is in perfect harmony with this conclusion. There is, evidently, a thoroughly worked out design in this otherwise apparently foolish report. Every possible contingency, as to its falsity, every safeguard for immunity, even the possibility of detection, has been anticipated. The world may be safely challenged to find any other consistent theory.

On that answer, hinges everything at issue. That is why it is not published. If they answered "Yes, we went to the Pole," Peary was undoubtedly disappointed, jealous. It would be only human for him to be so. But if it be a fact that could not be refuted, he must face it as best he can, or break its force by an attempt to discredit it. If the answer was "Yes, we went to the Pole," he probably did what he thought best for his own end. His interest was intense. What he actually

*Whitney was not admitted to the inquisition, but he says he "understood" that the Eskimos refused to deny having been to the Pole and that they could not comprehend what Peary wanted them to say. If they had been compelled under such influence to deny that they went to the Pole, it would have signified nothing.

did do is consistent with the answer "Yes," and is strong evidence that such was the answer.

Why such a senseless report was ever given to the public by the Peary Arctic Club, who *knew* it was a fiasco, would indeed be hard to comprehend, if we did not already know that it was a choice of evils. They undoubtedly knew that a false charge had impulsively been made over the wireless by Peary, to retract which would be fatal. They obviously thought that with some explanation (however futile) the affair would only be at worst, a fizzle. These puerile, meaningless questions and answers are absolutely all the evidence that has ever been produced that Cook did not reach the Pole. This constitutes the great *thunderbolt* launched by Peary to show that Cook's claim of having reached the Pole was a "gold brick." Every word of it was obtained by Cook's competitor —every word is *exparte*, hearsay. (Whitney, the only disinterested white man in the country, was not called in to witness it although he was on the ship). This is the sole evidence on which Cook has been condemned as the greatest deceiver and fraud the world has yet produced. But the truth is safeguarded in so many natural ways that it cannot be smothered, and the knowledge then abroad at Etah, may in time be world wide.

The record made in New York agrees perfectly with the theories advanced as to the record made at Zerke and Etah. Peary knew, and the Peary Arctic Club probably knew that the Eskimos said that Cook went to the Pole, and that eventually it would be known universally. If they did not know it, they were submissive tools of Peary's will. He may only have told them what he wished them to know, and compelled them to be satisfied. But they were not blind. If they did not know, they should have known. Only a fool could have been ignorant of the purpose of the distorted information furnished by Peary. These Club members were intelligent, influential and prominent. They must have viewed with open eyes, and certain knowledge, this transparent masquerade. Yet they have given their names and influence to this obvious imposture with apparently

full intent to fasten the deception (if it be a deception) forever upon the civilized world.

The most ingenious person who ever lived could not have so perfectly and skillfully concealed the truth without the facts before him. These men, Peary, Bartlett, Borup, McMillan and Henson who signed the report, with Hubbard, Bridgman, Raven, Parish, and Crane, who are reported to have revised and issued it, can all plead not guilty of falsehood, or of promulgating falsely stated facts and be acquitted, so perfectly is their work accomplished. These men may have deceived, but they have not actually misstated facts. They knew all the facts, and anticipated them all completely. No doubt they employed skillful lawyers during those weeks to cover every possible contingency. There is nothing more that it is necessary to show. The truth, the facts, that are disclosed by this report will convince any unprejudiced mind that Cook's Eskimos said he went to the Pole. On no other theory or hypothesis can these strange coincidences and perversions be explained.

Here is an instance where the evidence of these two Eskimos, which under ordinary circumstances would be considered valueless, is more important as it stands and more convincing than would be the testimony of any white man, who could have accompanied Cook, simply because it is spontaneous, natural, and improbable of error. A white man might have been induced to lie for sufficient consideration; and even though he told a perfectly true and straight-forward story, it still might be doubted, as he would be an interested party. But these are ignorant Eskimos, without ambition, and without love of glory, who are praised universally for their truthfulness among themselves, who tell their relatives and neighbors a thing they could not possibly ever have dreamed of, had it not been true. They tell it to Peary. This evidence under these circumstances is so convincing, and so satisfactory, that it cannot be doubted by unprejudiced minds. Nothing

that Cook has said, nothing that any of his friends have said, nothing that can be dovetailed together to form a connected story is so absolutely convincing as this testimony, which has been so providentially unearthed by Peary.

We may now review this subject briefly from an entirely different standpoint. The only possible way for Peary to discredit Cook's claim of having reached the Pole was to show, if he could, that Cook turned back before he went that far north. It is, of course a truism that if Cook did not go to the Pole, he must have turned back at some point on the Polar Sea, this side the Pole. If he did turn back, can that point be located by anything that has been said? Peary, the only person who has attempted to locate it, has made at least *four* different statements designating the point where Cook's Eskimos said they turned back. The crux of the whole problem as to who is the discoverer of the North Pole (if it has been discovered) lies hidden in these FOUR statements. Can the truth be found? In view of the great importance of this point, we can well afford to give the examination of these statements close attention.

Immediately upon reaching the wireless station at Indian Harbor, Labrador, Peary announced his own alleged discovery. His next message was "Cook should not be taken too seriously, his Eskimos say he did not go *Far from Land.*" This was interesting, but the public clamored for details. The word "FAR" was too indefinite to satisfy an impatient civilization who were at that time intensely interested in Cook, and were preparing to honor him on his arrival in New York (then en-route) from Denmark.

A second dispatch but slightly allayed public curiosity, because it defined that *distance* from land by adding that Cook only went "TWO SLEEPS from land." This as may be imagined, was insufficient to satisfy the craving of eager reporters, who, in to the exact spot and to check it on Cook's alleged more minute information. Then came a

third dispatch defining the point on the land from which the expedition took its departure in starting out on the Polar Sea. It was that Cook only went "TWO SLEEPS from Heiberg land." The last two dispatches made the meaning of the first one perfectly clear; for it will be noticed that the later definitions as to either the point of departure or the point of turning back are not in the slightest degree changed by the wording of the last two dispatches. All three were obviously intended to convey to the eager public, ONE positive and of course unchangeable and highly important piece of information, namely; that Cook turned back after traveling on the Polar Sea "TWO SLEEPS NORTH FROM HEIBERG LAND."

So far the public understood Peary's attitude. The details only were lacking to satisfy public curiosity fully. To quiet this feverish anxiety, Peary supplemented the above information with a solemn promise, that if the public would suspend judgment until he could reach the mails, he would present his proofs in such an unequivocal manner that all would know that Cook was giving them a "gold brick." If the salient facts given in these THREE wireless dispatches have ever been truthfully established, they end forever Cook's claim as being the discoverer of the North Pole. We can ourselves, therefore, well be patient in a brief examination of these vital facts.

These dispatches arrived early in September, 1909. Peary, as would be natural, was also curious as to the details of Cook's narrative. Immediately, therefore, following the publication of these dispatches, reporters and friends on invitation steamed as rapidly as possible to Battle Harbor, Labrador to which point Peary had advanced after waiting three days in Indian Harbor accumulating information. When the first group of Peary's friends arrived, he had access to Cook's full story which had previously been published. Peary at once retired to a "fish loft" on the shore. It may reasonably be assumed that he first scrutinized the particular portion of Cook's narrative which relates to his first two marches out on the Polar Sea. It

was a perfectly natural desire on Peary's part to be early informed of the exact record made by Cook as to the marches which Peary had been forced to describe publicly, and to take note wherein the record differed from his own wireless version, which had by that time also been published throughout the world.

It is a plausible conjecture that Peary remained with his ship in Labrador so long as he did, running into weeks, for no other purpose than to master the contents of Cook's writings before being called upon to make further comments. Whether Peary familiarized himself with Cook's narrative or not at this special time in Labrador is of course unimportant, but whenever he did see the narrative, he certainly noticed what everybody else surely must have noticed, that there was an irreconcilable contradiction between Cook's record as to his first two marches out on the Polar Sea and the statement that Peary had already sent by wireless.

Cook had said* that Koolootingwah and Inugito with two sledges equipped with dogs and loaded provisions had accompanied him north as a supporting party from Heiberg Land THREE MARCHES, or to the camp which was reached on the evening of March 20 from which camp Koolootingwah and Inugito returned to land. Peary must have seen when he read this representation made by Cook that here was an irreconcilable difference in detail between them; a difference that might be fraught with serious consequences to Peary; that presented possibilities which might at some time arise to trouble him, and be exceedingly embarrassing to him or to Cook, depending upon which of the two explorers had been falsifying; for it is undeniable that one or the other had written a false hood.

Peary had already promised by wireless to furnish the sources of his information as soon as he reached the mails. But he saw that those alleged proofs sadly conflicted with Cook's which record Cook was in position to sustain. How

Herald, Sept. 2, 1909.

could Peary under these circumstances fulfill his promise and at the same time escape the impending crisis? Here was the obvious embarrassment. Suppose that Cook should eventually summon Koolootingwah and Inugito as witnesses to his record. Both of them were present with the expedition for more than TWO MARCHES north. Cook could not, of course, summon these Eskimos immediately, but nevertheless it was an unsafe position for Peary to rest in, providing, of course, that his own statement was not true that Cook's Eskimos had said that Cook turned back after TWO marches.

It is well known that both Koolootingwah and Inugito were old time acquaintances of Peary. The public might say that Peary could have clinched his own version himself, if it were true, while in Etah, by getting the testimony of these two disinterested Eskimos to corroborate the alleged testimony of Cook's two companions Etukishook and Ahwela. It would hardly be believed that Peary would have missed voluntarily such an opportunity as that, so important and conclusive in its results, as such testimony would have been. The omission at best might itself need explanation which would be embarrassing. From any angle the situation was not quite as pleasant and secure as it might have been had more sagacity been used in wording the wireless dispatches. One thing was certain. There was an unnecessary and embarrassing contradiction that could have been avoided by Peary had he seen Cook's narrative before committing himself to the details.

If, for the purpose of argument only, we should now assume that Peary is the guilty party; that it was he who had made a false statement, it would at once have occurred to him (under those circumstances) that he had made an inexcusable blunder. He had his opporunity, and could of course have said anything he wished (supposing he was falsifying). He could just as well have said that Cook went FOUR marches out on the Polar Sea as to have said TWO marches, had he only known what Cook had recorded, or had he consulted either Koolootingwah or Inugito, or even had he stood by his first vague state-

ment of "far from land" and not have been seduced into giving details. He could have said five marches or six and have been perfectly safe in so doing, as no one could then have disputed him in support of Cook. Anyway this was evidently the situation in which Peary was placed when he reached the mails with the public hourly expecting his proofs to be published.

It will be recalled that for some reason, Peary did not for weeks publish his proofs as he had promised. The press nagged and ridiculed him. A crisis had arrived. Finally the announcement came that the "proofs" would be first submitted to the Peary Arctic Club before publication, for their judgment and decision as to what "form" they should be presented to the public. As may well be imagined, this was the last straw. The Peary Arctic Club withheld these alleged proofs another three weeks or so, before they published them. The public and the press were exasperated at the delay which could mean but one thing, so the press declared, and that was that the alleged proofs were no proofs at all, that the Peary Arctic Club dare not publish them, and other assertions of like tenor. The Peary Arctic Club, however, was in the main composed of men who were equal intellectually to almost any emergency that called for sagacity, and could evidently execute an escape from almost any dilemma or predicament. At last they published what may be called a FOURTH statement, counting Peary's three wireless dispatches from Labrador, further defining (if shifting may be called defining) the point where the ESKIMOS actually SAID that Cook turned back.

Two courses were open to them, and apparently *only* two. One was to stand firmly by the wireless representations that Peary had published, and take the chances of having them eventually proved false. The other was to ignore altogether the three statements made by Peary as to the fact that the Eskimos said that they went only TWO SLEEPS from land,

substitute entirely different testimony of the Eskimos,

be contradictory, but nevertheless testimony

e with Cook's record as far north as

Koolootingwah and Inugito accompanied him, or could be witnesses to. Once past this danger-post it would be evident that Peary would be shifted into a comparatively impregnable position. This might be duplicity, but it was also desperation. The latter course, desperate though it may appear, was adopted. The public was faced with a statement over Peary's signature, which although it gave the lie to his former THREE declarations placed him for the future (so it appeared) in an apparently impregnable position.

The *fourth* statement as amended was that the *Eskimos said* that they went "north or northwesterly—*one* sleep beyond where the two Eskimos (Koolootingwah and Inugito) *turned back.*" Now the coast was clear. Who among living men in support of Cook's record could prove this last statement false? It is true that the other members of the expedition did not sign their names to this daring and conscienceless transaction. They signed only that portion of the publication which said nothing—that portion which recited only the alleged questions and answers, which were comparatively harmless. We now have Peary's fully amended allegation of what Cook's Eskimos have said.

The reasons for the significant change in the testimony of the Eskimos from two sleeps to four sleeps are obvious enough. Koolootingwah and Inugito both accompanied Cook three marches northward from Svartevoeg, or to the third camp from land, arriving there on the evening of the 20th. Koolootingwah brought back a letter of instructions from Cook at that third camp to Rudolph Francke. This letter, no doubt, was dated at the "Third camp, Polar Sea, March 20 (or 21), 1908," or words to that effect. When Peary made the alleged examination of Etukishook and Ahwelah at Etah he *omitted* examining either Koolootingwah or Inugito both of whom knew as much as anybody could know about the travels of the expedition as far north as three marches from Heiberg Land. Anyway when these amended "proofs" came out they omitted "Two sleeps" and substituted the words: "After sleeping at the camp where

the last two Eskimos turned back, Dr. Cook and the two boys went in a northerly or northwesterly direction, *one more march.*" This makes the alleged point of turning back four marches instead of two, and would make the distance 92 miles out on the Polar Sea.

The significance of the amendment is two-fold. *First*: it takes the expedition beyond where Koolootingwah and Inugito went, or could testify regarding it, and *Second*: it leaves Cook's narrative uncontested up to and including four marches out on the Polar Sea—leaving only the question in dispute whether he went on, or turned back at that point. This at least simplifies matters.

Among civilized people, it is a cardinal principle of justice, that all men are to be considered innocent until convicted. The principles of civil righteousness could not otherwise prevail. The burden of conviction is on the accuser. He must furnish a preponderance of clear evidence. In a court of justice guided by these accepted principles, not one sentence of Peary's alleged testimony would be admitted as evidence. But this so-called evidence has been submitted under most peculiar circumstances to a tribunal of evident injustice. Nothing can be more unmistakable than the fact, that a falsehood has been uttered in Peary's charges. Peary has not by a single word or paragraph convicted Cook. But in attempting to do so with such weak, worthless, wicked evidence, Peary has convicted Peary. If by analysis this fact is established, nothing more need be shown. But as we are now in the crisis of this argument, it is better to test it further. We may be interested to know whether or not Peary has been more fortunate in his allegations of Cook's return march, or whether or not circumstance harmonizes with analysis.

The analysis of Peary's statement as to the Eskimo testimony condenses the controversy down to the very simple
as to whether Cook went north from that point on to
l. Nothing else is at issue. We ought to
blem reduced to this simple form even

though there is no direct evidence at hand, because there is such an abundance of circumstantial evidence as to this one fact. If it can be proved that Cook turned back after making *four* marches northward, it would be of little importance, and of very little interest where he then went, or what direction he took to get to his destination wherever it was, but it is of supreme importance to know whether or not Peary who is testifying is a reliable witness. The whole problem rests entirely upon this knowledge.

Peary's statement as to Cook's movements, purports to cover one more significant fact. This reads: "They did not enter this rough ice nor cross the lead, but turned *westward* to Heiberg Land at a point west of where they had left the cache, and where the four men turned back."* Cook may have falsified his route after March 21, but it is inconceivable that he would do so over that portion which his enemies concede, admit and know he actually did travel. The fourth camp or March 21st camp (92 miles out as shown on Diagram 1) is practically on the 97th meridian west. Svartevoeg, the starting point from land is on the 93d meridian west, *four degrees further to the east.* No portion of Heiberg Land extends farther west than the 95th meridian and this westward extension would be *two* degrees *east* of Camp No. 4, and the point on the land that reaches that far west is 50 miles south of Svartevoeg. Cook, therefore, could have returned to no portion of Heiberg Land unless he turned *east.*

Now read again the sentence that "They turned westward to Heiberg Land" (from Camp 4, March 21). The Peary Arctic Club itself obviously needed a censor. Peary's location of the alleged Camp Jessup, his location of the sun, and his avowed compass directions when he alleges he was at the Pole were considered about the acme of blunders. But this statement of turning "westward" to land that then bore east or southeast is assuredly a climax in absurdities. Should Cook, or should anybody be condemned on testimony, which carries

*See Diagram 1.

internal evidence and proofs of its vicious character? Yet the statement from which I have been quoting contains all the evidence ever yet produced against Cook (aside from that which may be found by analysis of his narrative). Cook's story of his travels is now unqualifiedly accepted as true up to and including one march beyond where Koolootingwah and Inugito the only disinterested witnesses leave him. There are just two stories extant as to what course Cook took from the fourth camp on the Polar Sea, Cook's story and the amended story of Peary.

Cook gives in detail all his locations, the dates, distances, consumption of food, ice drift. Everything is as clear, as frank, and as ingenuous as any story (as far as I can see) ever written by any explorer. I can discover no concealment, no impossibilities, and apparently no cunning work. I am unable to find any serious matter relating to these marches that does not properly check out by any analysis or synthesis I can make. He gives reasons for every move and for every change of program; why he failed to return as prearranged to Svartevoeg and thence along Nansen Sound where he had provided caches of provisions; why he did not later cross Ellesmere Land and make his way north to his supplies and thereby save the hardship, the hunger and privation of the approaching Arctic night. I am sure that no rule of analysis can be applied to Cook's story that if applied to any other explorer's story in like manner will not entitle Cook to equal credence with anyone who may be named, all other circumstances being equal.

Against Cook's story stands Peary's report of his alleged examination of the Eskimos, as amended by the Peary Arctic Club. But if we accept every word (that is not contradictory with his own words) Peary's story is still unbelievable by all the rules of equity or reason. Peary first fixes the point where [illegible] alleged to have turned back. He shifts that point to [illegible] d reconciliation with the first or with [illegible] : mixes the alleged direction taken by [illegible] d, and mixes it as hopelessly and as

absurdly as would be possible for his worst enemy to do it for him. And there, Peary practically rests. Nothing else of the slightest importance is mentioned, no dates, no distances, no reasons, no other material facts.

Can it be a difficult matter for any reader to pass judgment on this problem in this condensed form? Is Cook's record reasonable? If not, wherein is it shown otherwise? Is any part of Peary's version a credible part? If so, what paragraph can it be? We must be reasonable and fair. Is it in locating the point on the Polar Sea of northing made? Or is it the manner of his getting back to Heiberg Land by going westerly? These two representations contain the crux of the Cook-Peary controversy. Did Cook do or could he have done the impossible things Peary alleges he did do? Or does Cook's own version seem more reasonable?

When Peary was writing his own narrative, he kept the facts fairly straight as long as his supporting parties were with him. The rate of speed to the Bartlett Camp is, possibly, truthfully recorded. But that rate of speed which was so exasperatingly slow; the open leads which so long detained him; the pressure ridges that so seriously obstructed him; the broken sledges that so much annoyed him; and all the other enumerated trials that afflicted him on his journey that far north vanished with the supporting parties. Peary did not commence to seriously falsify his own narrative (if he did falsify it) until his last supporting party had turned back. He would not otherwise have been safe. It was essential to be rid of supporting parties. It was equally important and equally essential to adopt the same rule if he was to falsify a story about Cook. *There must be no witnesses.*

When he undertook to work out a story to fit Cook's case (if this theory is correct) he knew instantly that the first essential was to place Cook in the story, as he had before placed himself, beyond the point where supporting parties could expose him. This feature, as far as I know, is Peary's exclusive invention. He had unwittingly erred in his dispatches in

presuming that Cook's supporting parties had left him at Heiberg Land, and in further supposing that "two sleeps" would take Cook far enough north to be safe. But when he read Cook's record and learned that Koolootingwah and Inugito had followed Cook for three marches beyond land, he must have realized that he had made a fatal error. Whatever else was then to be done, or left undone, this error must be obscured or corrected.

Absent men tell no tales. If the enforcement of this rule was necessary to protect Peary against the possibility of adverse witnesses in making his own claims, it was equally necessary to enforce the rule for his protection, when setting up claims as to Cook. It was as essential to be rid of Koolootingwah and Inugito in Cook's case (as the conditions clearly indicate) as it was to be rid of Bartlett in his own case. The object to be accomplished is identical in both cases. Hence, the daring venture in the long delay in publishing his censored version, and so skillfully changing the wording of it that inasmuch as all the facts were not then known to the public, it might escape being noticed that the statement had been adroitly changed from "TWO sleeps" to "FOUR sleeps," without mentioning either number.

This is surely very skillful literary work, and whatever else may be said as to the numerous blunders that Peary has made, if he has in fact falsified two stories, and made them both stick, he is surely entitled to whatever credit attaches to such an achievement. If the theory evolved by this analysis be sound, that the result is accomplished by one man, who is himself not over endowed with clearness of vision, who writes two false stories, both constructed upon an identical plan, and has both tales run the gauntlet of the United States Government, and of many Geographical Societies the world over, and

" gains the confidence of the general public by his con-
" through the news agencies, he is certainly
" his chest, and is entitled to glistening

medals, but they should be of an entirely different design from those now hanging on his breast.

As this theory of Peary's invention perfectly harmonizes with Peary's writings and with Peary's position in every way that it can be viewed, it would seem as if it must be true. On the contrary it is in absolute discord with everything ever written by Cook who does not appear to have even remotely entertained such a theory. He reverses Peary's methods in many ways; he did not plan accelerating speed; he did not find the going continually improving as he advanced north, and in no way can Peary's plans be made to harmonize with any of those of Cook on his last trip north, or with anything, or with any other plans in Cook's history. But as before indicated, Peary has convinced the general public and many geographical societies that when Koolootingwah and Inugito turned back on the evening of the 20th, that Cook then immediately, or after the next march, himself turned back and went south and southwesterly, finally reaching Cape Sparbo. The whereabouts, therefore, of Cook between the time of his leaving Camp No. 4 until he reached Sparbo would be interesting if it could be known. One of these two versions whether true or not, was written by the participant Cook, who knew the facts. Rules of justice presume it true until proven otherwise. The other is published by a rival claimant, who could not have known the facts or the truth, but who asserts in an extremely vague way that he heard the story from Cook's two Eskimos. We have now before us all the data that are possible to get, and the problem condensed to the short interval of time heretofore mentioned.

The analysis of the Eskimo testimony so far condenses the controversy down to the very simple problem as to whether Cook went north from that point or returned. Nothing else now is at issue.

If it can be proven that Cook turned back after making *four marches* northward, it would as I have before stated be of little interest where he then went, or what direction he took to

get to his destination wherever it was. But it is of supreme importance in ascertaining the truth to know whether or not the witness Peary who is testifying is a reliable witness. The whole problem rests entirely upon this knowledge.

To accept Peary's version as true one must first be convinced that after Cook had spent the winter of 1907-8 at Annoatok organizing his expedition and had thereafter carried the expedition across Ellesmere Land and four marches out on the Polar Sea, and the last supporting party had returned leaving him alone with his two Eskimos and with the supplies on his sledges yet untouched, that immediately on that very day (or the next day) the lure of unexplored polar regions which had been his life's dream suddenly departed; that he instantly decided then and there to abandon this obviously consuming ambition and abandon all his caches of provisions that he had provided along his return route, and without waiting a single day to see if conditions might not change, but with an apparently aimless purpose, wandered a year in a previously explored country to inevitable destitution, possibly for all he could have known, to starvation and ignominious death; that he voluntarily marched 500 miles away from his caches of supplies to crawl into an underground den at Cape Sparbo to stay there through an Arctic night without food and practically without ammunition, and deliberately by hunger reduce himself and his two Eskimos to the skeletons that Whitney met at Annoatok, on their return in 1909. Are we convinced that this is a true version of a sane man's proceedings and can we accept it without a scintilla of worthy evidence to accompany it?

We can better judge in matters of this kind by comparisons. Is this version consistent with *known facts*? Does it harmonize with Cook's previous or subsequent acts? Does it connect properly with the knowledge we have? Is it reasonable to
pose, for instance, that Cook; who had previously spent the
a year locked in the ice floes of the Antarctic
time had often left the imprisoned ship
over pressure ridges; who, after this

experience and his previous experience in the Arctic, decided to try to reach the North Pole and spent an Arctic winter in preparing for the task; who, it is believed has surpassed all men in the unprecedented feat in this last exploit of passing an Arctic winter as far north as Cape Sparbo without a storage of supplies or ammunition to obtain them, and yet in his necessarily emaciated and famished condition, when day light came, trudged three hundred miles north to reach Annoatok and food, and then continued on foot seven hundred miles more southward to reach civilization (one thousand miles altogether over ice and snow farther than from land to the Pole and back), would idle a year for no other announced or conceivable object than to bring upon himself such needless hardship accompanied with such extreme hazards and all because he "encountered rough ice" the fourth day out?

Can sensible intelligence accept this version? Would such a proceeding on Cook's part result from anything short of downright hopeless imbecility? Is there anything in Cook's known antecedents that furnishes even a clue to such a theory?

Suppose that Cook himself had been the author of Peary's version, instead of his own narrative, would not the world have decided that he was a fool or had lost his mind?

If we do not accept this version, then there is not left existing a scintilla of outside evidence tending even to show that Cook's version is not true.

The civilized world through a skillful manipulation of the press has, however, accepted Peary's version and condemned Cook to infamy. But is there a living person who can today by logic or reason justify the verdict?

We can, however, in opposition to Peary's version positively *prove* nothing. It is not incumbent on us (or even on Cook) to prove anything. But we can appeal to reason, to common sense. We can compare all we do know with what we do not know and see if there would be a shadow of justice in rational minds, in accepting the Peary version.

Cook is known by abundant unbroken evidence to be a

very active, strenuous, adventurous, brave, ambitious man enduring any hardship or privation with unselfish fortitude. He has spent much of his time for over 20 years in the Arctic and Antarctic, *always without pay.*

Is this much consistent with the Peary version? Is it consistent with falsifier's arts? Every one of Cook's associates during all these 20 years, *Peary himself included*, have testified to Cook's uniform high character. He is known to be untiring, courageous and daring in all his exploits.

Is it not, therefore, quite consistent with his whole career to believe that he would have tried at least, and tried as strenuously as any one else would have been likely to try to reach the North Pole, or at least to have waited awhile for an opportunity to present itself for crossing that obstruction at the 4th Camp?

Cook has furnished to the world every particle of proof that would have been possible for him to furnish had he in truth and beyond question actually been to the North Pole. He could then have done no more than he has done. Besides this, it may be said that his story has stood a fire from bombs above his head, from forts on every side, from mines beneath his feet, and it has run a gauntlet unequalled in history for the severity of the test, and not one of his statements, as far as we have now reached, has yet been disproven either by witnesses, analysis, or by circumstance.

Perhaps by examination we may form a plausible idea at least as to what part of the Arctic Cook was most likely to have been in after he left the 4th Camp March 21, 1908.

This alleged interview with the Eskimos, fairly interpreted, is intended to indicate that Cook went *South*, instead of *North* from a point 92 miles north from his point of departure from land. There is no other reason but that for publishing it. No one knows where Cook went, but is it at all likely that he went south in view of all that we do know?

Let us use the facts we have. We will assume that the alleged testimony of the Eskimos, *indicates* that which it does not say, that Cook went south to Cape Sparbo instead of north

to the Pole. It was obviously published to create that impression and for no other purpose.

Only three locations in the Arctic are fixed and proven as to Cook's whereabouts. He spent the winter of 1907-8 at Annoatok. He started from Annoatok on February 19, 1908, and crossed Ellesmere Land, depositing or caching provisions at several places on the way as far as Svartevoeg, the northern end of Heiberg Land, and there made another and his last cache. He started from there on March 18, 1908, out on the polar sea for somewhere, and traveled north at least 92 miles.

Here we leave him for the present, and skip an interval. He spent the next winter 1908-9 in a den at Cape Sparbo on Jones's Sound. This is proven by his Eskimo companion (Etukishook) who afterwards piloted Paul Rainey and Whitney to the spot, where photographs of the den were taken and published. These four places, Annoatok, Svartevoeg, the 4th camp, and Sparbo are all the known locations as to Cook's whereabouts.

If we are to believe that he went elsewhere besides the territory covered enroute between these four places we must believe *what Cook has written*, for no one else has written regarding it.

The present problem, therefore, is where was Cook likely to have been immediately between the time that Koolootingwah and Inugito left him 92 miles north of Svartevoeg on March 21, 1908, and until he reached Cape Sparbo. We know that he afterwards left Cape Sparbo (on Feb. 18, 1909) for Annoatok, just a year within a day from the date of leaving Annoatok. We have accounted for his movements during all his absence excepting this interval of time. Where was he during this interval? That's the problem! *The only problem*!

A correct answer to that question might determine whether or not the North Pole has, in fact, ever been discovered. It presents a problem for solution that has been as interesting to civilized mankind as any that has arisen in many ages past. Popular belief the civilized world over is that Peary's version

is the true one, and that Cook's is false. We are, therefore, compelled to pause for a brief comparison. Cook says that he proceeded north from the 4th camp to the Pole and on his return as he was approaching the vicinity of Svartevoeg in June, he found that he was cut off from land by an impossible barrier to travel by either sledges or by boat. It was an open sheet of water apparently some 50 miles wide filled with crushed drifting ice. His food supplies on his sledges were running low, permitting no delay or experiments. He, therefore, concluded to push on south with the current to a food country in the hope of being later rescued by a whaler in the vicinity of Jones's Sound. That failing to meet any vessels on his arrival there, and the season being then far advanced, he had no alternative but to remain over another Arctic winter night before attempting to reach his supplies at Annoatok.

We have now before us the known facts and the known circumstances and, with the light shed by them, we may now examine the problem by assuming that Cook has in truth falsified his story, and then see what would be a reasonable way to look at it on that theory; to see what course he probably would have pursued in the light of these facts and circumstances if he expected his story to be accepted and his glory undimmed.

The first question that arises is what could have been the possible object in a falsifier's mind for that excursion around by Sparbo, and an Arctic night in that dungeon? Peary has advanced no reason for it, neither does he say that the Eskimos have. But there must be some reason if we can only find it. Why was it necessary to the plausibility of a falsifier's story? Plausibility is the most important feature in such a venture. Plausibility must be kept constantly in mind, and never sacrificed even for heroism. Cook could have escaped his distress at Sparbo and escaped the subsequent contention as to his title or to his claims (which have arisen wholly on account of the delay of a year on Jones's Sound) if he had carried out his originally avowed plans, and had returned direct from Svartevoeg to Annoatok. Why did he change those plans and con-

sume a year's time in order to add plausibility to a false story? Can anybody discover a reason?

Koolootingwah and Inugito turned back at the 3rd camp on March 20, 1908. Cook started north from that 3rd camp and traveled at least one march more (according to Peary) reaching Camp No. 4 on the evening of March 21. Assuming it to be true that from Camp 4 he turned back himself and followed in the tracks of Koolootingwah and Inugito south to Svartevoeg *and remained there*, or in that vicinity until June 1, or that he traveled somewhere during this period over the Polar Sea in such a manner as to convince his Eskimos that he had reached the Pole, he would then have consumed 75 days since his departure on March 18. This was long enough time for a plausible story of a trip to the Pole and back. (He could have remained until August 1 if he thought it necessary or advisable, but June 1 was long enough for plausibility). He would not have needed during this time to have used any of the food on his sleds, because he had sufficient in his cache at Svartevoeg. He could have started back from Svartevoeg to Annoatok (a month's trip) with abundance of food, with other caches all along the route. By consuming the same time on the return to Annoatok that he did in the advance from there, he would have reached Annoatok on July 1, 1908, or a week before Peary left New York for the north, and over a month before Peary reached Etah. He would then have carried out his original plans with an exactitude almost equalling those of Amundsen in the South. He could then have rushed on to civilization on foot as he did a year later, taking the two Eskimos with him to keep them out of sight of inquisitors until Peary had passed on north in August leaving his trusty friend Francke at Annoatok to protect his secret and to return on the *Erik* when it arrived. Cook would have then been the first explorer to reach civilization with his message, and have had a year's advantage in promulgating his story and enjoying the glory of the distinction.

Possibly Peary, learning on his arrival at Etah of Cook's return and of his claims (or if ignorant of the claims), might

himself have abandoned his trip north or been satisfied with a record of northing of 87° 47′ instead of 90° 00′ or the Pole; but had he later claimed the Pole, his story would have been scrutinized very closely by the public. He would have had no immediate means of disproving Cook except by returning before going north to do so.

In view of such apparently clear sailing for Cook, had he practiced this deceptive course, why did he sacrifice it, and instead make the insane excursion around by Sparbo? It would appear difficult for even a Jules Verne to concoct a plausible yarn of the Sparbo trip. This fraud that I am assuming would surely have been detected, but nevertheless this scheme as outlined, is, I think, superior in plausibility to any version yet presented.

We may take one step more. Suppose that Cook with his acknowledged brilliant mind is also actually possessed of surpassing ingenuity, and that unknown, unexplained, and unsuspected by any one else, he knew of good reasons for the Jones's Sound trip, and the night at Sparbo to perfect his fraud. Why then did he not remain at Sparbo in hiding with his two witnesses until Peary passed on south? There would have been no hazard to his claims in permitting Peary to have announced his own claims first, because Cook's claim is a year previous. Besides this, Cook's announcement made later, with its story of the night at Sparbo, would have thrilled the public mind with a double heroism.

We may view, therefore, all the known facts and circumstances from any angle we please. They do not appear plausible or to harmonize with the theory that Cook's story as far as reviewed is false. On the contrary all the known facts and known circumstances do harmonize with the theory that his story is true as far north as the 4th Polar Camp which is as far north as the story has yet been examined. It appears unthinkable that an intelligent man who was preparing such a falsehood as the discovery of the North Pole would commit such a stupid blunder as to rush north as Cook did from Sparbo to Annoatok,

then start off on foot on the Greenland side south to civilization and leave his two Eskimos in Etah to blab his falsehood to their neighbors and to Peary and his party, who were expected soon to return from the north. There is no rule by which such an egregious and stupendous blunder can be made to fit and be consistent with the theory that the story of which it is a part was constructed for a falsehood.

Proceeding with this theory, when Peary reached Etah in August, 1908 on his way north, he would have heard of Cook's return. He may not have heard of Cook's claim. But whether he heard of it or not, he probably would have been placed in an embarrassing dilemma. If he did not or could not learn definitely of what Cook claimed, he could only proceed on his journey north in an embarrassing uncertainty as to whether or not the prize he was coveting had already been won, which uncertainty would have robbed the venture, if genuine, of much of its incentive.

He could not very well abandon his trip on an uncertainty. On the other hand, if he did learn of Cook's claim of discovery by examining the Eskimos, the uncertainty to him would only have been intensified, coupled with the remote possibility that Cook's claim might be accepted as true by the public during the year of his own absence north. Peary could have had no claim of his own at that time. He must proceed further and consume another year before he could make one. He could take the testimony north with him on his hazardous undertaking and risk the possibility of it ever being made public. Nevertheless, he would be constantly conscious that Cook would have a full year at best to enjoy the distinction and glory and to entrench himself in public confidence. Peary could not have immediately returned home with the testimony because he could not reasonably abandon his trip north simply because somebody else had falsified a claim. That would have been foolish and besides this to return would have been an admission that he feared the claim was true. It would appear, therefore, if Cook had falsified his claim as to the southern portion of his

route, which is the only position we are now considering, he would probably have followed somewhat along the lines herein suggested and returned from Svartevoeg across Ellesmere land to Annoatok, because all the advantages would apparently have been in his favor. All his subsequent troubles (all of which could have been clearly foreseen by him) have arisen solely because of his delay occasioned by the route *via* Sparbo.

But why the need of secrecy? If the Eskimos said they turned back at the 4th Camp, they knew it, and knew they did not go farther north. It is, therefore, a certainty that Cook would not in those circumstances attempt to convince them that they had been to the North Pole, hence, there would have been no secret to keep or divulge.

It is equally certain if he did tell them that he had reached the Pole, they must have gone farther north at least than the 4th Camp, which disposes of Peary's allegation and explains the reason for secrecy. If they went farther north, it was in 1908, when they were expecting to be back to Annoatok by June 1 or more than a month before Peary left New York when no secrecy was required. The occasion for secrecy in 1909, for something already known in 1908, arose from the delay of a year by the route *via* Sparbo. Peary in the meantime went north and was wintering at Cape Sheridan while Cook was wintering at Cape Sparbo. Thence, it became a question as to which would reach Annoatok or Etah first. Cook's earlier arrival compelled the injunction of secrecy.

If Cook did not go to the Pole but intended to make a false claim and keep his intentions secret until he reached civilization, he would probably have adopted the same method that Peary professes to have adopted when he returned to his ship from the north; and that was to say nothing to anyone (except Bartlett) about where he went. This was a safe policy to pursue. By saying nothing, there was nothing to explain. If Peary had claimed the discovery of the Pole, it would have instantly become a supreme topic. Even the ignorant Eskimos might have made comparisons as to time, speed, and other

matters. At all events, it would have been an unnecessary hazard for Peary to have claimed the discovery *if it were not true.* But on the other hand if it *were true,* he probably would have sent a messenger ahead, if possible to do so, to spread the glad tidings, to cheer the hearts and enliven the souls of that party of men and women with the satisfaction that the object for which they had all toiled had been accomplished. On reaching his ship he would have been greeted with huzzahs from every throat on that ship.

Silence was a safe policy for Peary. It would have been a safe policy for Cook. If Cook did not go to the Pole as we are now assuming, but proposed to make a false claim and keep his purpose secret, he would not have taken the useless hazard of telling his purpose to his Eskimos. Silence was better.

On the contrary had he gone to thePole, he would certainly have told his Eskimos of an event of such transcendent importance. If he did tell them it was either because it was true, or because he wanted them to think it was true, not then thinking secrecy necessary. The point is that the Eskimos got their information from Cook; that they did not get it in Etah; that they did not "laugh" when it was told, because they told it themselves; they did not hear that "Cook told Whitney and Pritchard." It was told them at a time when Cook was expecting to reach Annoatok by June 1, 1908, and get his message to civilization possibly before Peary left New York.

There was no necessity for secrecy under those circumstances. But Cook was cut off by open water on his return from reaching Heiberg Land, compelling him to go around by Sparbo and to wait another year before he could get to Annoatok. This delay changed the situation; it gave Peary time to go north, and possibly (as far as Cook then knew) to return to civilization ahead of him. This changed condition naturally forced Cook to pledge his Eskimos to secrecy in the event they should reach Annoatok ahead of Peary or before Peary passed on south.

This is the position of the two Eskimos as it existed at the time we are reviewing.

CHAPTER X

RECAPITULATION

We have now reviewed Peary's part in the polar controversy. It has been shown by his own representations, and by the known facts that he could not have reached the North Pole.

To recapitulate finally, Peary's claims for speed on the trip as a whole, after leaving Bartlett or for any section of the trip where sufficient data permit an analysis, are impossible of accomplishment by human locomotion or by tugging dogs with loaded sledges. To make the course he claims he did make, in a direct line over acknowledged drifting ice floes, and return in the tracks of the outward march to the point of departure would be a travesty on natural and physical laws. To foreordain such a plan with such accuracy as is alleged he did, is to claim omniscient intelligence. The marches alleged to have been made in the vicinity of the Pole, the directions traveled, and the positions of the sun, are so contradictory and absurd as to stamp the statements regarding them as unmistakably fictitious. The pictures, by their shadows, are evidence of their counterfeit coinage. The contradictory descriptions of ice conditions on the Arctic Sea, and the obvious motive for the conflicting representations; the guileless disagreement of Henson's diary with Peary's story in detail, and sentiment; Bartlett's log, Mitchell's diagram, and numerous other discrepancies and incongruities that have been exposed in the preceding pages, show Peary's narrative to be clearly the creation of a romancer.

A few loose leaves, alleged to have been torn from a book for "facility in revision", is all the written proof offered. There is not one word on those leaves, not one figure on those pages

which could not have been put there by any one. There is some pretense that this could not be done, but it can be only pretense. There are certain infallible criteria for determining whether a story is fact or fiction. Writers of fiction need good memories and thorough understanding of human nature as well as of natural laws. These traits are not included in Mr. Peary's endowments. Fiction writers are inventors; and an inventor must be able to keep his primary thought and object clearly in mind, and still leave his intelligence free to follow every change with fine distinction. Inventors make mistakes. Fiction writers make mistakes. Cervantes, a genius of surpassing brilliance, made mistakes. Even Shakespeare, it is said by literary critics, made mistakes. It would be a mistake for instance for a fiction writer to refer to the use of steam engines or telephones when relating events which occurred prior to their invention. It would be a mistake for a writer to make use of a horse whose death he had already described. No argument could be advanced to deny that such writing is fiction. Mistakes in writing fiction are of an entirely different character, and are easily distinguished from those which occur in a narrative, or in related facts.

Peary was obviously inventing in his description of his alleged travels about the Pole. He was evidently creating plausible conditions which required an entirely different turn of mind from that of an explorer or of a narrator. If he were recording facts or chronicling events, he would not be likely in a single statement to mistake the clock time by 6 hours, the direction of the sun by 69 degrees, and say in one description that he was traveling northward, and then in another description of the same travels prove that the direction was southward. He would not write in a diary that he took an observation at *noon*, and then enter in that diary that same observation in figures, as being taken 12:50 p. m. and repeat these mistakes in every description and have all this happen at one camp, when each item in the circumstances was a matter of vital consequence. Such errors indicate unmistakably that they are fiction. They

show that the writer is not skilled in balancing imaginary facts.

By the same reasoning, Mitchell's (or Tittmann's) diagram is not a mistake. It is manifestly the act of a counterfeiter, predetermined and premeditated. The errors in that diagram are not clerical errors, or errors of memory, neither are they matters of ignorance. Tittmann, who vouched for this diagram was not deceived. He is the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States; his eyes are familiar with maps. Gannett, the dominating mind in all this iniquity, is chief geographer of the United States. One may have the faith that will remove a mountain, and the credulity of an infant, but he cannot, in his senses, truthfully deny that this diagram is fabrication.

This diagram and the report accompanying it may be classified a little differently from fiction. The report signed by Hugh G. Mitchell, is simply a figment of imagination. I doubt if he wrote a word of it. The diagram itself is downright fraud. Mitchell, Duval and even Tittmann were, in my opinion, merely cat's paws in this transaction. And it is my further belief that the ringleaders in all of this villainy are Chester, Gannett, Grosvenor, and Peary. What they have done or caused to be done, is not, in my opinion, a matter of mistaking facts, but apparently attempting fiction and practicing fraud.

Aside from a question of veracity in Peary's various allegations as to conditions of the ice surface between Cape Columbia and the Pole, the conflictions themselves indicate unmistakably that they are fiction. For instance, the distance from Cape Columbia to the alleged Bartlett Camp is 280 miles. From that Camp to the Pole is 133 miles. Therefore, *one-third* of the ocean space alleged to have been traveled over, is north of the Bartlett Camp, and *two-thirds* is south of that camp. We can unfold the truth better and show whether or not the various descriptions are fiction, by imagining that each of the separate descriptions as detailed on the journey,

That is to say, we may admit that he gives valid

took him over 30 days going north to cover the

two-thirds space, and gives valid reasons why it took him less than 3 days in returning south from the Pole to cover the *one-third* space.

Admit that Peary actually found the ice conditions as he has described them on his journey from land to the Bartlett Camp, and as all writers preceding him over ice floes have uniformly found and described them to have been impassably rough, tortuous, and broken by open leads of water. And admit it to be true that from there on, to the North Pole and back again, fortune smiled upon him every hour, presenting to him unheard of and undreamed of Arctic conditions; smooth level ice with hard surfaces, perfectly adapted to easy and rapid traveling, and that it remained in that condition undisturbed long enough for him to accomplish his task of going to the North Pole and returning safely to the Bartlett Camp, thereby enabling him to make the speed he has claimed.

Had such conditions in truth existed they would have seemed to him, as they would have seemed to anyone else, to have been almost miraculous. He would have considered them a divine dispensation in his favor. At all events they would have been such a blessing as would have appealed to his gratitude for such phenomenal good fortune. Those seven and one-half days' absence north of Camp Bartlett with those exceptional conditions, over that heretofore untrodden space, would have been so photographed in his mind as to have been constantly before his eyes as a panorama through all future years.

If this had been his actual experience he would not possibly have written after his return to civilization* "There is no land between Cape Columbia and the North Pole and no smooth and *very little* level ice." Then in order to show further that none of this "very little level ice" was north of the Bartlett Camp, and that none of it was even north of Borup Camp, *but that all of it was south of the big lead*, and adjoining the land he writes in the next sentence "For a few miles only after leaving the land we had level going. As for those few miles, we were

**North Pole*, Page 194.

on the glacial fringe." For one to be convinced that every phase of this story is fiction one only needs to look at the record of his marches,* when he alleges he was traveling over the identical level ice, when every man and dog were fresh, and every sled was new, and notice that his greatest day's march was 13 miles, and that all the marches over the "only level ice" on the journey, starting from land were as follows: 10, 12, 13, 11, 12, 12, 12, 10, 6, 6.

The first description that there is no smooth or level ice north of the glacial fringe could have been left in his book as it stood, and no one could have truthfully told whether it was fiction or fact, truth or lies. Every word of it might have been fiction and have remained undetected. And if the writer had been skilled in fiction work, and had thereafter kept his prior thoughts and plan constantly in his mind, and have remembered that he must not vary this description in subsequent paragraphs, there would have been no way perhaps to detect the deception. Interesting novels are so written; they draw the line so fine that a reader is chained to the continuous thread. But when Peary in subsequent chapters became so enthsiastic over the brilliancy of his new thoughts, as to forget the scope of his previous ones, and in detail then describe *one-third* of the ocean space as being perfectly smooth and level, and even before he got along in his journey to the best of the imaginary traveling, he describes what he alleges to have already seen, as being "as level as the glacial fringe from Heckla to Cape Columbia and harder," he furnishes an infallible criterion, by which is proven that his story is fiction.

Inasmuch as all the evidence offered by Tittmann and Mitchell is, without exception, intended to prove that the observations submitted by Peary show that Camp Jessup was not on longitude 70° west or Cape Columbia meridian, but was on the 137° west; and inasmuch as statement No. 1 is omitted from Peary's book†, which omission can be for no other purpose

*Diagram 3.

†*North Pole.*

than to remove a contradiction; it must follow, that the final decision by Peary, Gannett, Chester and Tittmann is that the record shall stand *viz.*, that Camp Jessup, as proven by the observations presented, was on the 137th meridian west. This is now recorded, and is as fixed and firm as Peary and his friends can make it. Can this be a record of facts? Scientists may answer.

In all the history of Polar Sea sledge traveling, there has never yet been a day so favorable, a wind so fair, a stretch of ice surface so smooth, a human being so strong, or dogs so fit, that a loaded sledge on a continuous journey could be transported 30 nautical miles in one day's march. The renowned Parry struggled northward in 1827 in a vain endeavor to keep up a daily advance of 5 miles. Nansen made the universal struggle, with the usual result, against unrelenting ice floes. No coincidences such as Peary relates fell to Nansen's lot. Nansen's former experiences with Arctic wilds and Arctic woes had not given him that prescience, that prehensile mind, that penetrating vision, with which Peary and the Washington geographers are gifted. Nansen could not see in the distance from his ship's side what Tittmann saw from Washington; what Peary saw from the Bartlett Camp; a level ice plain over which, and by which Peary could gallop along 100 miles in a day, and into fame, crossing north over 172 miles of floes, then south across the Polar Sea from the Pole to land, and not be detained over two hours.

No fair minded, thoughtful person can examine this story in all its bearings, as to the alleged conditions, the speed attained, and maintained after leaving the Bartlett Camp on All Fools' day, 1909, and reach any other rational conclusion than that it is an imaginary narrative from that day on until Peary reached land. It may be confidently predicted that eventually this conclusion will not be seriously contested or questioned. Interested persons with mercenary ends to accomplish; or implicated partisans desiring to sustain themselves, may by sophistry and personalities attempt to divert attention from the

astounding revelation and thereby break its force. But I venture to say no reasoning from the narrative itself will be resorted to. No reviewing of the facts, or attempts at elucidation will be indulged in, for the sufficient reason, that more light would be thrown thereby upon actions which are now exposed.

I have no desire to pursue Peary personally. I have no grievance and no motive for assailing him. He had no more genuine friend, when he started north, than the writer of these lines. But I have had occasion in preparing these pages to have recourse to his book *Nearest the Pole*, wherein he claims to have reached 87° 6′ in 1906, and from such study as I have given the matter, I doubt his allegation. The question as to whether or not he actually went that far north in 1906 is in a measure immaterial, and has no bearing on the present question *viz.*, "Did he reach the North Pole in 1909?" The only bearing it could have (if he did not go to 87° 6′ in 1906) would be in the indication that "false in one, false in all." However, Peary's claim of reaching 87° 6′ in 1906 was accepted as true the world over. I do not know that a word has been uttered in doubt as to the truth of this claim.

The indications are that he did not reach 87° 6′ in 1906. The alleged trip *north of the big lead* in 1906 is framed with timbers very similar to those used for the trip *north of the Bartlett Camp* in 1909. The same architect evidently designed them both. Peary had the same difficulty in 1906 as he did in 1909 in making northing while in company with his supporting parties. It was impossible for him to advance further north in 1906 with them than to the Big Lead. But on April 2, (1906) the anniversary of which marks the leaving of the Bartlett Camp in 1909, immediately after he became permanently separated from his white companions, and was alone with the same trusty Henson and his Eskimos (just as he was in 1909) he started to make rapid speed to the north, and a new record.

equipped at that time (1906) because of this separa-

to have reached the North Pole. But his

allegations are that after his separation from the white men, he eclipsed all records in speed over polar ice, making 2½ to 3 miles an hour, 30 miles a day and thereby claims to have reached a point *32 miles farther north than the record point of Cagni!* He then returned, just as he claims to have done in 1909 when alone, "in the tracks of the outward march," all the way back to the big lead, where he had parted with his white companions. But then the ocean currents operated, he lost the trail, and shaping his course due south reached the Greenland Coast at Cape Neumeyer, having drifted while away from the trail, from Longitude 74° to Longitude 47° or practically 27 degrees to the east. The map in the book *North Pole* with the false plotting of the 1906 route masques this deception.

He pretends, apparently for diversion, to have been somewhat disappointed with this success, as it appeared to be his last chance to try for the North Pole on account of his advanced age, and his infirmities. He published his account of this expedition. His claims therein were accepted as true. He, therefore, decided upon another trip, and another book.* In any case, an analysis of his last story shows the inevitable, irresistible, indisputable conclusion that he did not go to the North Pole.

It is not incumbent upon me in a work of this character to prove or even to show that Peary did not reach the North Pole in 1909 as he claims. It is sufficient if it is made plain that he has not proved his case. The burden is entirely upon him to present a convincing and indisputable array of facts, maps and records. This he has not done. In so far as the evidence submitted is concerned, he has not been to the Pole. He has not acted frankly. The evidence is ample and convincing that by self-incriminating testimony, he is an impostor; that his narrative describing his travels beyond the Bartlett Camp is a myth, the product of creative imagination; that the pension

*It is possible that by having this knowledge, Peary took the cue later for springing the Mt. McKinley affair on Cook.

secured with the aid of the clique supporting him, was obtained by fraud. Consequently, explorers ambitious for renown need not lose hope—opportunity is still open. Those who have the lure of the Arctic tugging at their hearts, with a thirst for great achievement, may yet enter the contest. As far as Peary is concerned, the North Pole, as a world prize, is yet to be won.

Having reasonably established this fact, it is proper, important and due to Peary, in view of the gravity of this indictment, to show a possible or plausible motive for this deception, which, if not convincing, or concurrent, is at least in harmony with facts. Peary's mind cannot, of course, be read, nor can we interpret exactly how or why he decided upon the course he has taken. But may not certain deductions be made since he refuses to enlighten us further? The opinions forced upon the writer may differ from those of others, but these chapters would hardly be considered complete if in bringing them to a close, these opinions were not given. They are submitted in the belief that they present a fairly plausible interpretation of this mystery.

Suppose Peary to be approaching the Bartlett Camp enroute north. His experience up to this point, his miles of daily travel, his observations of ice conditions, the season's advance, the long distance and unknown expanse ahead, all pass through his mind. He sees clearly that to proceed much farther would be suicide and massacre. The distance yet to travel is 133 nautical miles to the Pole, and 413 miles from the Pole back to land. It is the 1st of April. Whatever speed has been made to this point under so many favorable conditions cannot possibly be expected henceforth. Remembering that 4 miles per day is an average of Polar Sea sledging work without supporting parties, and assuming the possibility of maintaining it, this rate would bring him back to land in 136 days, or on the 14th of August. The bitter truth is forced upon him that to reach the Pole and return to land is impossible. But to turn back at his age, on his last trip is to end his career in failure. Having spent the [illegible]rs of his life in attempting to gratify this ambition, to

gain everlasting fame as the greatest of discoverers; he could not, must not, will not, bear the anguish of this dreadful fate. Considering the inexorable conditions which are now unfolded to him in their awful reality, he realizes that he has reached the risis of his career. One of three things he must do, his decision must be instant and final. First: Openly to acknowledge failure and the sad termination of a great polar career, with the remote but humiliating possibility of Cook's return in triumph, over a possibly more propitious route, and to the glory of the one achievement that has been the hope and ambition of his life. Second: To proceed to certain death in a futile attempt to encompass the impossible. Third: Imposture, with riches and glory. The temptation is colossal. Less than this has wrecked greater men.

The last alternative is a "gold brick" to the public, but everlasting fame to one who embraces it. The price is enormous. It is, moreover, an opportunity never again to be presented. He casts the die! Conscience is easily soothed. The record to the Pole, even though successful with all the trials, risks, physical and mental strains—what is it after all in the last analysis but entries in a diary? The achievement in any event cannot possibly be proven to the world who cannot witness it, and might be doubted in any event. Why risk so much for the plaudits of a fickle humanity at this time of life?

Having determined on a course of action, he must be certain of his work. A diary can be fixed here and now, as well as then and there, if managed right. Matt Henson, a body servant of 23 years' service, is absolutely subservient to Peary, without even a wish or thought to do anything but serve him faithfully. He was tested in a similar venture in 1906. Peary is safe with him. Neither Henson nor the Eskimos need see or know, or have any means of knowledge, as to directions, distances, or time. If a statement is made in their presence, it is accepted without question. They all had blind confidence and gave no thought of the morrow. But Bartlett is a man of thoughts, of

observation, of responsibility. In a matter of deception, it is unsafe to place confidence in such a man.

Whatever else may be considered afterward, it is essential that Bartlett be disposed of. He is ordered to return. He is yet necessary to Peary in many ways, and will be in the future. His friendship is all important, and every effort must be made to preserve it. Praise, hearty appreciation, must always be expressed for his great service, even flattery if it serves. He will be a bulwark if a controversy should ever arise.

This part of the program being successfully arranged, the next and only serious one remaining is the sounding apparatus. Soundings are too positive and dangerous in a case like this. They may be reviewed in the future. If the gear could only, in some way, be accidentally lost in the sea! The samples of soundings beyond 49 miles out from land "*were lost with Marvin.*" The soundings made by Bartlett found "no bottom" so brought up nothing. The one near the Pole "*lost line and sinker; all that remained.*"

The coast is now clear. Not one scrap of evidence except observations can ever be checked up. No other serious thing exists. Peary makes 5 marches, who knows in what direction? At the end of the 5th, he announces to the willing ears of his companions the glad news that their long struggle is over. "The Pole at last!" One can imagine how sweet that sounded to those weary men. Peary takes observations, walks some distance this way and that, lest some error in calculations might rob him of the solid assurance that he actually had reached the Earth's axis. A flag is planted and photographed; the deed is done. The men are admonished to bear distinctly in mind the number of marches from Bartlett's Camp. It may be important in history. They are all equally heroes, but they must remember these facts, as their part of the glory depends upon it. Whether this theory be a correct one, or not, it nevertheless checks out and harmonizes most things so far.

The foregoing theory develops other speculations which invite thought. If Peary did not go to the Pole from the

Bartlett Camp, where did he go? This is known only to those who were with him, probably not even to them. In an analytical treatise, it is not necessary to speculate upon this point. Many writers have attempted to prove a satisfactory alibi. Whatever is attempted along this line must first, of course, accept some datum as being true, as a starting point, or as a basis upon which to erect a theory. But what part is true? What facts are established beyond doubt, in such a labyrinth of contradictions, in such chaos?

One theory is advanced, accepting as true the fact that Bartlett and Peary were, on April 1, 1909, in camp together at 87° 47′. On that day at 3 p. m., Bartlett left that camp with an outfit of dogs, men and sledges, to return to land. Twelve hours later, April 2, at 5 a. m., Peary left the same camp with another outfit of men, dogs, and sledges, and disappeared on the Polar Sea, bound ostensibly for the North Pole. Eighteen days thereafter, (on April 18) at about 10 p. m., Bartlett emerges from the polar ice at Cape Columbia. Four and one-third days later, or at 6 a. m., April 23, twenty-one days after his disappearance, Peary emerged from the polar ice at the same place, Cape Columbia. Bartlett reached the *Roosevelt* at Cape Sheridan the next day (April 24). Peary reached the *Roosevelt* April 27, three days later. But Peary stopped two of those three days at Cape Columbia to rest. Peary and Bartlett were, therefore, absent from the so-called Bartlett Camp at 87° 47′ according to this story, and were out on the polar ice 18 and 23 days respectively. They started 12 hours apart, and arrived at Cape Columbia 4⅓ days apart. Peary lingers two days at Cape Columbia, hence, reached Cape Sheridan three days after Bartlett.

What is the inference from all this? What is the natural supposition? What is a reasonable presumption from these remarkable admissions and coincidences? Or what would be a fair way to look at them as long as Bartlett is silent, and Peary only is allowed to speak? Here are alleged facts presented by Peary himself. Whether the data are true or not, is immaterial

at this juncture, since a comparison of these claims has already been reviewed in detail. It is not necessarily incumbent upon an analyzer to pursue it further. Nevertheless, in the absence of knowledge, theories may be advanced that are plausible, and if no satisfactory explanation is given, they are justified; and whether justified or not will be indulged in by every penetrating mind.

Peary and Bartlett may have returned south together from 87° 47′. If they did, and kept together, they would, of course, have arrived together. Whatever date Bartlett actually arrived at land, if it could be known truthfully, and assuming that he was at 87° 47′, would indicate the proper consumption of time for the return trip.

If Peary's story is true, in so far as that he left 87° 47′ north latitude 12 hours after Bartlett, and arrived at land 4⅓ days after he did, they perhaps traveled together *most* of the way, the few days separation, if they did separate, being arranged for purposes of confusion. On the other hand, if they did travel together on the homeward trip, which seems possible, they were in collusion. They had jointly agreed upon an imposture. When and where did they make this agreement if it was made? Was it in camp at 87° 47′? If so, enough has been said.

But if they agreed at the 4th camp, where they were idle for seven days, waiting to cross the big lead, they probably never went to 87° 47′. There was no need of going so far, to consummate the plan. They probably turned back as soon as Marvin was out of their way perhaps at 87° 38′, and Marvin may have been dismissed for that purpose. When Marvin had been absent a reasonable length of time, they may have followed him, and waited for time, and to separate.

This last theory equalizes the figures, making all reasonably harmonious, infinitely more so than does a trip to the Pole. It is nevertheless only a theory, and there being so little of acknowledged fact for a basis, must necessarily, for a while at least, remain theory. It may account, however, for the notable

intimacy that has existed between Peary and Bartlett since their return; the obsequious manner in which Peary has constantly patronized Bartlett, the fulsome eulogies bestowed upon him everywhere, the honors accorded him in soliciting his companionship on his lecture tour in Europe, when he professed to have preferred Henson to share the honors on the Arctic Sea. If Peary had continued this preference and had honored Henson as a co-discoverer, it would not have attracted so much invidious notice. Indeed, it would have been proper and right, as it would have added interest and attractiveness to his lectures; but why Bartlett and not Henson or Borup, or Goodsell, or McMillan?

Peary has said that he did not want his own glory dimmed by sharing it with Bartlett.* This excuse is believed to be a precedent among explorers. The glory due Nansen, is not dimmed by the companionship of Johansen. No shadow is cast on the fame of Magellan or Columbus by their comrades. Amundsen equipped each of his companions with a sextant and compass; and when at the South Pole, he placed each of those companions in such a position, that all of them and any of them might claim in history, and with truth, an equal participation in his great discovery. He even permitted each of them to make his own observations every hour for 24 hours; and make his own computation and corrections, and let the deserving competitor have such honor as may consequently fall to him. He himself halted when near the Pole, and lest the exact spot might not then have been visited, he invited volunteers to scout for many miles in any direction, so that on their return to Norway, experts might determine who it was, that was first the nearest to, or on, the magic point. Instead of dimming the glory that is due to Amundsen, this action adds luster to undying fame.

If it turns out to be a fact (and the truth will undoubtedly be known eventually) that Bartlett and Peary agreed upon this imposture, then it is reasonably certain that they never went

*Test, Page 74.

even to the Marvin Camp 85° 28′. Furthermore, there is no evidence except that offered by Peary and Bartlett, that Peary ever went beyond 85° 23′ where Borup turned back, 136 miles from land. How trustworthy their testimony is has been amply demonstrated herein.

There are those who insist on an entirely different theory; or on a supplementary theory, *viz.*, that the indications are that after leaving Etah for home, Peary and Bartlett for the first time concocted in detail the scheme of claiming the attainment of the Pole, to offset Cook's claim which then became known to them; that Peary's lingering off that coast, many weeks ostensibly killing walruses, was perhaps for the purpose of completing the plans. It is thought to be inexplicable that with this valuable discovery in his breast, he could waste time stacking up walrus meat to leave for Eskimos who needed no such assistance. For later on, when time was precious, and for purposes of haste, wireless messages brought the substance of Cook's claims, Peary remained again for weeks on the rocky coast of Labrador, beyond civilization or access, ostensibly cleaning his ship, which seems a novel procedure to experienced seamen.

However, it is indisputable that when Peary's narrative, upon which alone his claim rests, has been tested, in the crucibles of criticism, discussion and analysis, possibly also by the attrition of anger, jealousy and partisanship, the truth will undoubtedly come to the surface and possibly the real discoverer will be known.

Notwithstanding all these certainties, there is some positive evidence, and some positive knowledge from which conclusions may be fairly drawn. If Bartlett and Peary actually landed at Cape Columbia after 54 days' absence north, it is quite certain that, after Borup turned back, they turned *west*, instead

t on north.

ty have recrossed to the south side of the
ice, and then made their way west.
t easterly current, such as Borup

describes, it would have been absolutely impossible for them to ever have returned to Cape Columbia unless they kept to the west of or on the Columbia Meridian. If they had kept north of the big lead where the current was approximately five miles per day, they would have needed to have traveled on that drifting ice in those 54 days some 270 miles to the west, besides whatever northing or southing they may have made, scaling pressure ridges and negotiating open leads during all that time.

They would have been fools to have done this, to have risked themselves to the north of the lead, unless they wished to keep out of sight of land to fool the men. It is therefore almost certain that after the return of Borup, they kept on the land ice and kept to the west.

If Peary is proven a falsifier in any part of his narrative, then it is but just to say that not one word of his testimony should be accepted that relates to anything north of Borup's last camp at 85° 23′.

Having disposed of the foregoing problems, the query now arises: Has the United States Government placed a crown upon the wrong brow? Have the various geographical societies of Europe who have accepted the National Geographic Society's false decision, been hanging medals on the wrong breast? These are things the public ought to know. They are things the truth of which can easily be ascertained. Such disclosure as herein presented cannot, of course, be accepted upon mere assumption. It must be further proved by indubitable evidence before we bring the blush of shame to so many honorable institutions. Some geographic society somewhere in the world will surely have among its members a scientist of unquestioned learning and integrity who will put at rest for all time such a preposterous and scandalous presumption. In such a matter of universal interest as the compiling of maps for the guidance and instruction of future generations some nation will certainly resent the fact that they are erroneously and fraudulently made and will see to it that they are corrected.

If Peary had lapsed, there is some extenuation. He was

disappointed. Jealousy and envy may have been uncontrollable. But the others whose motives were mercenary or malicious, I believe can never be justified. It must be perfectly clear to anyone who has given these Peary claims any attention whatever, that Peary himself and the members of the National Geographic Society have conjointly and most shamefully deceived not only the administration of which they are officers, but the whole civilized world. A distinguished German author has written: "After all, on this earth the one thing that is insufferable, whether in politics or religion, whether in private or national affairs, is that sham should go on pretending to be reality.—That is the hypocrisy of the Soul."

Congress had the power and evidently the inclination to affront an intelligent civilization by making a mock hero. But science and history will not countenance perpetual injustice. Ultimately the truth will prevail. The evidence should be obtained now while it is available. The truth of history demands it. Almost in the shadow of the White House, in the government household, was formed a gigantic conspiracy. It would not be consistent for the Government, through its own officers, to perpetrate this colossal fraud while ordinary citizens are fined and imprisoned for petty offences. It must be remembered that without the influence of high government position, the deception herein shown could not have been promulgated without detection. Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester was one of the Committee of the National Geographic Society, an active partisan member. He is a retired officer permitted, on occasions at least, to wear the ensign of the Government. Government officers are often punished and degraded for actions unbecoming gentlemen, even for trivial offences. Will the Executive Department, or Congress, rest content, and pass unnoticed this open, notorious, flagrant transaction? Will they remain inactive while the facts as to this achievement are disputed? Will they permit the whole civilized world to remain in doubt, or be deceived, as to the truthfulness of utterances of its distinguished officers

in such an important affair? Or will they institute an impartial, thorough investigation of this whole matter, and unfold the truth and imprint it correctly as a page of history?

An investigation, with authority to call for persons and papers, to examine all living members of the expeditions, the Eskimos, Whitney and Pritchard, and call for all the original documents, negatives and diaries, is demanded by justice, in order that the exact truth, beyond the possibility of a doubt, may be established. To postpone action until many of the parties are dead would amount to negligence almost criminal.

PART II—COOK

CHAPTER I

COOK'S STORY EXAMINED

GRANTED that Peary did not reach the North Pole in 1909, did Cook reach the Pole in 1908? The answer is a matter of opinion, based on the confidence that Cook's narrative inspires. That is all any explorer can expect. An analyzer can only dissect the narrative and the criticisms made by others upon it in order to show to what extent the narrative is consistent and to what extent the criticisms are sound.

Cook's claim that he is the discoverer is not affected by what Peary did. Cook was the first to describe conditions within 3 miles of the North Pole. Peary was second and last. The two descriptions are practically identical. If they are both false, both men are falsifiers, but even so it is still possible that Peary plagiarized Cook, for Peary's version was later. If both narratives are true, they indicate that Cook is the discoverer, because he could not otherwise have known the truth. Furthermore, if Peary was at the Pole, and made his descriptions from actual observations and tells the truth, his story proves conclusively, being identical, that Cook preceded him. It, therefore, has little effect on Cook's claim whether or not Peary speaks truth. If Cook reached the Pole in 1908, he is the discoverer; regardless of what Peary did in 1909.

This is understood by the partisans of Peary, hence their almost superhuman efforts to discredit Cook. The motive, however, of Cook's opponents is unimportant. Whatever the truth is regarding the claims, that only, must and will in the end, be established. The only genuine question involved is, does either explorer sustain his position, or rather does his narrative inspire confidence?

Nothing in Cook's narrative, at first reading, seriously aroused my suspicions, as did the narrative of Peary. The general opinion of explorers and scientists* is that Cook presents a reasonable story. It is, however, of interest to know whether the scientists have reached a sound conclusion; whether a deeper research will discover any serious, suspicious, or erroneous matter; and to know whether or not the research is thorough and sufficient. I shall, therefore, take up Cook's narrative, somewhat after the manner followed in the review of Peary's writings, examining first the claims for speed, then shadows, observations, and such other features as appear of interest. We may find something in Cook's narrative, that may be doubted. We shall find nothing therein that is proof of his claim. But we may see if anything can be found that is inconsistent with a belief that he reached the Pole.

If Cook has written anything that has given grounds for doubting his story, it must be his claim for remarkable speed over the Polar Sea. He claims to have left Svartevoeg on March 18 and to have reached the Pole, 520 miles distant, on April 21, (34 days at 15.29 nautical miles a day). This speed is unprecedented over moving polar ice floes. It is perhaps 100 per cent in excess of anything ever claimed by previous polar explorers. Was it possible for Cook to surpass his predecessors? Of course, some one must exceed, but is 100 per cent excess reasonable? Is there a substantial basis upon which to claim such an excess? The answer to these questions must be determined individually, by those who weigh the evidence.

It was Cook's idea, as I interpret it, that north of Axel Heiberg Land near the 100th meridian west, there must be a parting of the Arctic currents. It is known that north of Grant Land, the current is to the east. The greater part of this easterly current, passes on east beyond Grant Land, and continues east along the north coast of Greenland to its northern extremity where it turns south, and down the east shore of

*In the appendix of his book, *My Attainment of the Pole*, Cook presents a ...tists who support him.

Greenland into the Atlantic. A small part, however, of this easterly moving water passes south through Robeson Channel, Kane Basin, Smith's Sound, Baffin's Bay and thence to the Atlantic. It may not be equally as well known perhaps that southwest of Grant Land and west of Heiberg Land the current is also to the south, passing out through Jones and Lancaster Sounds and Hudson Strait, joining the last mentioned southerly current in Baffin's Bay on its way to the Atlantic. In other words, there are southerly currents down both the east and west sides of Ellesmere Land, both of which currents merge in Baffin's Bay and continue as one to the Atlantic. Consequently, there must be somewhere in the Arctic Sea, north or west of Heiberg Land, a body of comparatively still water where it parts to form these two currents.* It, therefore, seems to be a reasonable conjecture, based on scientific principles, that the ice in the vicinity of that line of parting, must be comparatively quiet, and free of high pressure ridges. If it is so, and the ice is level and smooth enough, 15.29 miles per day is not an unreasonable rate, because on smooth level surfaces such speed has been made. The question in Cook's case seems to be: Did he actually locate and visit approximately the line of the parting of these waters in the Arctic Ocean, and find there the above described conditions? Is this parting of the currents in the vicinity of the 95th or the 100th meridian west?

Cook writes† from Annoatok before starting: "I aimed to reach the top of the globe in the angle between Alaska and Greenland, a promising route through a new and lonesome region which had not been tried, abandoning what has come to be called the American Route. If my information was well founded and my general conjectures correct, I should have advantages which had not been possessed by any other leader of a polar expedition. The new route seemed to promise, also, immunity from the highly disturbing effects of certain North

*Nansen in the *Fram*, Delong in the *Jeanette* tested current theories similar to these of Cook. Amundsen purposes in 1917 to test a similar current theory.

†*My Attainment of the Pole*, pages 79-80.

Greenland currents. In all, the chances seemed not unfavorable."

He based his theory apparently on what he believed to be the operation of natural laws. He traveled west from Annoatok across Ellesmere Land a distance of 400 miles, or as far as from land to the Pole, in order to get to the proper meridian, to test his theory.

Cook claims an average daily speed on the outward journey of 15.3 miles, practically equalling Amundsen's, Shackleton's and Scott's speed on land. Assume that Cook found equally smooth traveling surface on the ice, as did Amundsen on land. The latter used dogs and lightened his loads into depots, as he advanced south, to be picked up on the return. Cook could not do this. His claim, therefore, would seem to be, taking this view of it, that he did better over the polar ice floes, than did Amundsen over the smooth barrier, the glacier, and over the smooth plateau beyond. But Cook had the advantage of a smaller party, consisting of experienced Eskimos in their native element, and he undoubtedly had better dogs. There is nothing in this claim of Cook's for speed that can be admitted or declared unreasonable until more facts are available. Can we believe him under the circumstances? Do we believe others under similar circumstances? Would we have been likely to believe Cook had not Peary, a prejudiced witness, discredited him?*

*Since this Chapter was written Donald MacMillan has returned from a trip in search of the mythical "Crocker Land." He left Svartevoeg on Heiberg Land on April 16, 1914, and traveled almost due northwest 150 miles, or to Latitude 82° 30′ Longitude 108° 52′. An abridged narrative of the journey is published by him in *Harper's Magazine* for October and November, 1915. I have not seen a full narrative.

This abridged account is in some respects remarkably significant. It discredits Peary as to his discovery of Crocker Land, but it sustains all of Cook's claims as far as his narrative and MacMillan's treat the same subjects.

MacMillan is inimical to Cook and studiously avoids mentioning his name, but apparently goes out of his way to bring in irrelevant matters relating to Peary. It is proper to mention this fact in the circumstances.

Cook after Sverdrup is the only person who had previously been over the same continuous land route, and the only person who had been over the same portion of the polar sea. *Continued on next page.*

Cook writes brilliantly, and his narrative is a very human document. His descriptions in many ways are unsurpassed in distinctness, but although he is a scientist of repute, he does not tell very much of a scientific nature that can be checked to test the truth of his story. He gives his latitude often, perhaps as often as he could get the sun, and from these anyone can ascertain his alleged distances and positions. He also publishes a dead reckoning table, in appendix, giving all his marches. But when he attempts, as he does infrequently, to mention distances in the body of the narrative, they do not in some instances agree with the differences in latitude as shown by his observations, or even with his dead reckoning. Under these circumstances, one loses confidence in his thoroughness. For instance, he says that observations on April 8 placed his camp at latitude 86° 36′ Longitude 94° 2′. He writes (Page 257*) "Although we made long marches and really great speed, we advanced only ninety-six miles in the nine days. Much of our hard work had been lost in twists around troublesome pressure lines and high, irregular fields of very old ice."

This is clear enough. He means the distance of northing made in the 9 days previous to April 8 or from March 30 to April 8. But he gives the latitude on March 30 as 84° 49′ 56″

MacMillan calls Svartevoeg (which was discovered and named by Sverdrup) Cape Thomas Hubbard; a name given it later by Peary.

MacMillan nevertheless unconsciously flatters Cook.

First: He selected Cook's Eskimo companion Itookashoo as his leading guide.

Second: After crossing Smith's Sound, MacMillan followed Cook's route across Ellesmere Land west to the northern point of Heiberg Land to Svartevoeg.

Third: He chose that point as did Cook, for his departure from land.

Fourth: One-half of MacMillan's route on the polar ice was over a space previously traversed by Cook and was never traversed by anyone else.

Fifth: MacMillan's description of the ice conditions and currents is identical with Cook's description. As much so as are Peary's descriptions of ice conditions at the North Pole, which have been commented upon so much.

Sixth: MacMillan dropped a line and sinker into the sea at the far end of his journey and it hung perpendicularly indicating still water.

Seventh: He traveled on his outward journey faster than Cook traveled. He made 30 miles on his 5th outward march. Cook's greatest day's march in his whole journey out and back was 29 miles. MacMillan claims to have traveled on his return trip, 50 miles in one march, and 37½ miles on the average for the 4 days returning. Here is his mileage record out and back.

**My Attainment of the Pole.*

(say 84° 50′) and the latitude on April 8 as 86° 38′. The difference is 106 miles; not 96. Three days later he makes another statement and a similar error. On April 11 he gives the latitude as being 87° 20′. This would make the distance traveled in those 3 days from the 8th to the 11th, 44 miles, but he said in an installment of his first publication (which he omits in his book) "in these 3 days we made 50 miles." In another instance, he writes of reaching this same camp (April 11) "after traveling *300 miles* from land," when the difference in latitude by his observations, makes the distance 360 miles.

On page 254* Cook writes: "On the 5th and 6th (April) we waited until noon before starting to get observations. This late start brought our stopping time close to midnight, and infused an interest in the midnight sun." But in his alleged field papers on page 571 under April 5, he writes that he started at 9 a. m. instead of noon, and marched until 5:45 p. m., an

OUTWARD JOURNEY

April 16	1st March	14 miles			
April 17	2nd March	3 "			
April 18	3d March	18 "			
April 19	4th March	17 "	52	Says he made 3½ miles per hour so far.	
April 20	5th March	30 "	82	Crossed 9 newly frozen leads estimated 72 miles out	
April 21	6th March	18 "	100	100 miles from shore	
April 22	7th March	44 "	44	81° 52′—103° 32′ (By observation)	
April 23	8th March				
April 24	9th March	6 "	6	175° Var. W. Lat. 82° 30′ Long. 108° 22′	
	9(	150	150		

16.6 miles per day

RETURN JOURNEY

April 25	1st	March	50 miles	Reached 7th igloo
April 26	2nd	March	48 miles	Reached 5th igloo
April 27	3d	March	35 miles	Reached 3d igloo
April 28	4th	March	17 miles	Reached Land
	4(		150 miles	

37.5 miles per day

on the 6th that he started at 8:10 a. m., and marched until 6:15 p. m., which would indicate that he was sleeping on both nights, instead of watching the midnight sun. On page 262 he writes "I must steadily keep up my notes and the records of observations was serious addition to my daily task. I never permitted myself to be careless in regard to this, for I never let myself forget the importance of such data in plotting an accurate course."

Thus is briefly enumerated a list of apparent contradictions, indicating something. Is it fiction writing, or are these errors of such a nature that they may possibly occur in preparing a record of actual events? No one except Cook himself can have much interest in his mistakes. Everyone is liable to mis-

If these claims for speed, which eclipse all records on polar ice floes, or on the South Pole journeys, are accepted, (they would not have been accepted if Cook had claimed them) they eliminate all doubts as to Cook's veracity as to speed in that vicinity. Because the greatest day's travel made by Cook on his whole journey on the alleged trip to the pole and back was only *29 miles;* and this was the first day out after leaving his supporting party, when he and his dogs were fresh and when he was traveling over the same space that MacMillan traveled.

This evidence is significant and valuable coming as it does from one who noticeably ignores Cook, but who unintentionally flatters him by selecting the same companion, and adopting his route and verifying all of his claims and statements as far as the two narratives are comparable.

Ekblow, the geologist of the expedition, (who remained on the land) by a peculiar combination of circumstances was enabled to send by a vessel the first report of the safe return of the expedition to land. It was several months thereafter before MacMillan could transmit his report, which I have quoted.

Ekblow wrote, in addition to what MacMillan reports:

"On the day they returned to land in the middle of May, the ice on the Polar Sea broke up and became a hideous grinding chaos of broken ice, on which they would certainly have perished had they not got back as they did."

This meagre report as far as it goes fully sustains Cook's allegations as to the moving ice conditions on the polar sea west of Grant Land in *early June;* which conditions prevented him from reaching land on his return from the alleged trip to the Pole, and compelled him to continue with the ice on south via Sparbo. MacMillan and Cook are the only persons who have ever traversed that portion of the Polar Sea. Cook's description was the first ever made.

It would seem, therefore, that had MacMillan been one day later in getting off the ice he would have been in the identical predicament that Cook says he was in nearly three months later in the year. MacMillan probably would have been compelled to have gone on South to Ringes Land and perhaps have been obliged to have spent a winter somewhere in the vicinity of Jones's Sound as did Cook.

It appears remarkable that every circumstance that can be brought to bear on the case appears to sustain Cook's allegations as fast as they arise, and everyone of them uniformly condemns Peary.

takes. The only question of interest is: What, if anything, do these mistakes indicate?

In the appendix in Cook's book he publishes what purports to be a diary or log.* This gives the daily marches, the observations, etc. Diagram No. 15 presents this diary in graphic form. Column A in the diagram shows the various camps that were located by observations; the distances between those camps; which distances total 520 miles (the correct distance) from Svartevoeg to the Pole. Column B shows the daily camps and marches by dead reckoning and indicates a gain of 21 miles, making the total distance 541 miles, instead of the true distance, 520 miles. Column C gives the positions as variously reported in the pages of his book. The cross lines connecting the columns indicate where these discrepancies occur. We may now check up on Diagram No. 15 the aforesaid discrepancies in the order enumerated.

First: (Page 257) "We advanced only 96 miles in the 9 days." (March 30 to April 8). The observations, Column A show the correct distance, 106 miles. The notation in the diary (page 572, April 9) is also correct, 106 miles. The dead reckoning, however, shows 116 miles. A discrepancy of 10 miles between the methods. But the numeral 96 which he uses on page 257 in his book does not appear in either the column of observations or the column of dead reckoning. How could he, with these figures, 106 or 116, before him, write the paragraph quoted, and what could possibly have been his object? Did he want to make his distance appear shorter than it really was? It is not reasonable to suppose that. And no plausible motive can be seen for this error. But a plausible excuse may be invented. Possibly he made a clerical mistake in deducting the 10 mile discrepancy from the 106 miles, instead of deducting it from the 116 miles, or possibly it was a mistake in subtraction.

Take the next: "In 3 days we made 50 miles." (April 8 to 11). The dead reckoning shows 39, the observations 44. Why did he write 50 with these figures before him? Such an

error can only be excused on the theory that he intended the 50 miles to be approximate, or round numbers. But he omits this remark about the 50 miles from his book. It appeared only in his first publications. If he had any ulterior object in first publishing it, or if he had any purpose to deceive, it is difficult to detect it unless the whole story is fiction.

Take the last enumeration, 24 days, 300 miles (March 18 to April 11) (or from Svartevoeg, 81° 20′ to 87° 20′). On page 263 he writes "We had dragged ourselves *three hundred miles in twenty-four days*. Including delays and detours, this gave an average of nearly 13 miles daily on an air line in our course. There remained an unknown line of one hundred and sixty miles to the Pole."

The only correct figures in the quotation are the "160 miles to the Pole" and the "24 days." Why did he say 300 instead of 360 the true distance? Did he want to deceive by making his progress less by 60 miles than it really was? If he took an observation as he alleges he did, and was at 87° 20′, he knew it was 360 to land and 160 to the Pole, why did he say 300 to land? If no plausible motive can be cited, possibly an excuse may be found for this. The explanation of the error may be as follows.

On April 11 after he had made an observation and had ascertained his latitude to be 87° 20′ he then summarizes the results so far on the journey and the prospects or possibilities ahead. He had started from land at 81° 20′ which shows that he was then 360 miles from his starting point, and 160 miles from the Pole. The 300 is obviously a clerical error, either on the part of the printer, or Cook himself. Whoever made it, makes no difference. A fact cannot be changed, and changing these figures from 300 to 360, the proper number, would necessarily change the average also, from 13 to 15 miles per day, which again is immaterial in this argument.

One can imagine how two such mistakes could happen, if the numerals were originally entered in figures, not written words. A *6* is often made to look like an *0*, and likewise a *5*

to look like a *3*. But it is clearly evident, that a man standing at any point between two extremes 520 miles apart, could not possibly have 160 miles on one side, and only 300 on the other. It must be 360.

Peary wrote in *Hampton's* that he traveled 40 miles between Camp 26 and 27. He changed this in his book *The North Pole* to 30 miles; but neither number corresponds with the true distance as shown by his alleged observations at both camps, which makes the distance 32 miles. This error would have been passed in this analysis as immaterial, but it was reviewed, because it is collateral and corroborative evidence to show that Henson was truthful in saying that no observations were taken and that Peary is in error in stating that he did take them, at both camps.

In like manner at Camps 11 and 12, Peary erred as to the camp from which Borup turned back. The error itself is unimportant, but becomes valuable in corroborating Borup, and in sustaining the theory, that the quinary districts program is fictitious. For similar reasons it is of comparatively little consequence as a matter of fact in what manner the error on the part of Cook occurred, as to this distance of 300 miles and the average of 13 miles. But with relation to an attempt by a distinguished astronomer to show Cook to be in the wrong, which will appear later,* it is of prime importance in proving that the writer himself is not only wrong, but is evidently disregarding facts.

On page 254† Cook writes "On the 5th and 6th of April we waited until noon before starting to get observations. This late start brought our stopping time close to midnight, and infused an interest in the midnight sun." He says on another page that he did not see the midnight sun until later or until April 7. And on that date (April 7) and on April 8, his log indicates that he did make the late starts, but he has the dates

*See Chapter IV.

†*My Attainment of the Pole.*

DIAGRAMMATIC CHART (15)

SEVEN MILES

wrong on page 254. There is room for a difference of opinion as to the meaning of all this.

Cook evidently delights in describing scenery, colors, his feelings, and his thoughts, but anyone who attempts to check up his scientific or mathematical entries, in order to present the true facts would be unsafe in relying upon his remark "I never permitted myself to be careless in regard to this for I never let myself forget the importance of such data in plotting an accurate route."

The North Pole pictures in Cook's book, *My Attainment of the Pole*, are disappointing as to clearness. They are very indistinct and shadowless, as bad in that respect as most of Peary's North Pole pictures. Cook and Peary have both said that the actinic light in that high latitude is not good. Perhaps not. Amundsen's pictures at the South Pole are not very clear. Peary shows one picture, however, alleged to have been taken at the North Pole entitled *Looking toward Chelyuski* that is very clear; and Cook shows one picture in his *My Attainment of the Pole* opposite page 269 entitled *Mending near the Pole* that is very distinct. Scott's pictures at the South Pole, differing from Amundsen's, are also exceedingly clear and distinct. These illustrations indicate that the actinic light was sometimes satisfactory at both Poles, if both Poles were visited. Aside from indistinctness, Cook's pictures at the Pole appear to be genuine photographs. The sag of the flag, the bend of the pole, the attitude of the men correspond to the narrative, and appear natural, differing in that respect from Peary's North Pole pictures, which are obviously patched up affairs, with breezes and calms made to order.

The picture in Cook's *My Attainment of the Pole* opposite page 269 entitled *Mending near the Pole*, displays shadows that are significant. The picture, therefore, is herewith reproduced on the next page, 386. Cook strangely enough does not allude to this picture in his narrative. But the lines are very clear and the shadows very distinct. Anyone can measure the angles. Cook claims to have been at the North Pole on April 21, 1908.

If he was there at that time, the shadows would have been about 12 degree shadows. Those in this picture appear to be approximately 12 degree shadows. If the latitude where the picture was taken had been given, and that latitude was near the Pole, it would under the circumstances be the best evidence yet produced, that Cook was at the Pole.

This picture is of special value and is strong collateral evidence in his favor, because he makes no mention of it in his writings. It is, of course, no actual proof, as the picture could have been taken anywhere in the morning or evening when the sun was 12 degrees high. But the fact that he does not allude to it, and does not fix its exact location, and that the shadows seem to be what they should be if the picture was taken near the Pole, must be considered coincidences of prime importance in ascertaining the truth. The writer's judgment is, that it is the most convincing piece of collateral evidence, as to the validity of polar claims, that is to be found between the covers of the two explorers' narratives.

In all of Cook's writings previous to the publication of *My Attainment of the Pole* he makes no mention of shadows, but is profuse with them in the book, a fact which is some indication of being an afterthought. In his book he says that on the journey north, when he took observations, he sometimes erected a tent pole in the snow, and measured the shadows cast by the pole. That when he reached the North Pole he erected this tent pole again, and that he had shadows measured every hour for twenty-four hours, indicating that the results are to some extent, corroborating evidence of the correctness of his observations, or regardless of observations they indicate that he was at the Pole. He makes excellent diagrams of shadow lines as they would appear to one in approaching, and on arrival at the Pole. These diagrams are very interesting and instructive, but I do not consider them of any value as corroborative evidence. He shows the object as casting its shadow from the centre of the sun and he says he measured the length of shadows (on crystal



MENDING NEAR THE POLE

Reproduced from Page 269 of Dr. Cook's Book, "*My Attainment of the Pole.*"

covered ice) that were over 27 feet long, to an exactness of six inches.

The shadow of an object is dim at its farther end, because the lower limb of the sun hides behind the object and the disappearing upper limb shines over a space from the outer edge of the shadow. It does not seem possible that one could measure the length of a 27 or 28 foot shadow on an uneven surface to within 6 inches of its true length even if the object itself were perfectly aplumb and its foot perfectly horizontal with the end of the shadow. How he could have found 24 separate divisions of a circle all to measure a uniform length from a common centre, as he intimates he did have them for every hour for 24 hours at the Pole, on the presumably uneven surface of the moving polar ice floe, is somewhat difficult to understand.

The only reason I can see for such an apparently foolish procedure, particularly on the journey north, is the theory that he was over-painstaking in locating his positions accurately from time to time, as he proceeded northward. But how can this theory be reconciled with a mind that demands such accuracy in the matter of an altitude of the sun taken for instance so far away from his goal as 84° 50′, (on March 20) and again at 86° 50′, on April 8, and then is so inaccurate in entering the result of this effort in his diary, as to make the distance between the two points show an error of *10 miles* (96 instead of 106)? And then 3 days later, (on April 11) after another observation, make a similar error of *60 miles* in computing his distance from land, calling it 300 miles when his accurate observations before him showed that he was then 360 miles out? And then to overlook this error of 60 miles a second time when striking an average, by saying it was nearly 13 miles in 24 days when the correct average for 360 miles would have been 15 miles?

It requires some strain on one's credulity to reconcile these conflicting operations. It would be easier, I think, for many of Cook's friends to imagine that having been so shamefully treated

by the Peary conspirators in their dastardly misrepresentations, and realizing how readily their falsehoods were circulated by a subsidized press, and with equal readiness accepted by a fickle populace, that in desperation over such conditions Cook concluded, that the end justifies the means; that the devil should be fought with fire; and as an afterthought, he has invented these shadow ghosts. At any rate it would be inconceivable that a ship master even though among coral reefs, rocks or shoals, would resort to shadows to verify his sextant.

It would be necessary under the circumstances to be of value to plumb the pole in the cold wind and snow, and measure its shadow on the uneven surface of the ice pack, which when done, and the angle worked out, would only imperfectly indicate the altitude of the sun. Had Cook lost his sextant this method of measuring shadows would have been an ingenious substitute. But having a sextant and using it, it seems unlikely that he would consider it advisable to measure shadows. It would have been much more interesting, and convincing, had he referred to the length of shadows as a noticeable coincidence with the North Pole location. It is true that he mentions this view of it and has anticipated all of the above criticisms. This surplusage, if it may be so called, or this exaggeration, is no evidence, however, that he was not at the Pole.

Cook's sledge shown on page 269 is a skillful piece of workmanship, light and strong. The sledges used by Nansen, Scott, Shackleton and Amundsen were of very similar construction. Amundsen's sledges were as good when they returned from the South Pole as the day they started south, needing no repairs on the journey.

There are no noticeable incongruities in Cook's alleged observations near the Pole. He is, therefore, not placed in such an absurd position as is Peary. Nevertheless, his observations prove nothing as to his being at the Pole. Neither do they contain anything of a suspicious nature, and nothing that is especially subject to criticism or review. No one, excepting Prof. Stockwell of the Cleveland University, has pointed out

wherein Cook's alleged observations either at the Pole or on the journey convict him of error. Stockwell's two articles will be examined and reviewed in another chapter.

Cook makes no mention of ascertaining the variation of his compass at any point on the journey which would seem to have been a matter of as much importance to him in many ways, as was the altitude of the sun.

His alleged route indicates that he traveled north over the Polar Sea practically on the 96th meridian west, which meridian is approximately the north magnetic meridian. It is, therefore, quite possible that the compass variation on that meridian is constant, at about 180 degrees, and that the needle pointed south instead of north, all the way to the Pole. But it is also quite possible that it did not do so, at any camp on the journey. And even if it did point south at any one camp, it may not have pointed south at any other, even though all the camps were on the 96th meridian.

At all events it would seem to have been important for him to know what the variation was, at every camp where he took an observation. Moreover as he was traveling over virgin space, the knowledge of the variation of the compass over that space, would have been a new and valuable contribution to science, which would have been welcomed by maritime cartographers. Perhaps he ascertained this variation at frequent intervals, but if he did, it seems strange that he failed to make note of it, especially as he takes such pains to record the alleged fact that he suffered the useless inconvenience, and practiced the obvious tomfoolery of measuring shadows.

I cannot present this subject of the variation of his compass as a charge against Cook, as I was compelled to do in the case of Peary, because the ground on which to base it in Cook's case, is not so solid. Peary testified in Washington that he made no observations to ascertain the variation of his compass and none to ascertain his longitude on the journey north, which are positive assertions presenting a clear case. But Cook says that he took an azimuth compass with him and says that he

made very frequent observations and he gives both his latitude and longitude at many camps. Hence, it would seem that he must have known or could have known at any camp, at local noon, when he made these latitude observations, the variation of his compass. The only significance in Cook's case is that he does not record such an important fact, and thereby make it a matter of record for science, for the guidance of, and to be checked by, subsequent travelers over that heretofore untrodden ocean space.

I have now presented the only prominent features that are possible subjects of criticism that I have discovered in Cook's narrative. I see no ulterior motive or object in any of them. They do not connect as collateral or supporting evidence to any suspicious features in his story. I consider it necessary to make such connections in an analysis, or in a criticism of claims, if they are to be used as evidence, because it is even possible for an intrepid and earnest explorer to reach his goal, and yet tell lies about many details on his journey.

When John Cabot returned from his discovery of North America he reported that when passing over the Grand Banks of Newfoundland his ship literally ploughed her way through schools of codfish. This exaggeration came near causing his undoing. But while it to some extent and properly so, affected his contemporary fame, it had no ultimate effect whatever on his claim as a discoverer.

Walter Wellman on his return from one of his exploring expeditions reported that he had discovered a group of islands to the northeast of Rudolph Island, which has since been proven untrue. But this false claim in nowise invalidates his just claim to the discovery of other lands farther south.*

*Note:—Mr. Wellman has been pretty quiet of late, but during the Peary-Cook controversy when it was popular to oppose Cook, Wellman published an article condemning Cook, entitled "The First Stain." He attempted in this article to show that Cook was the first to sully the fair name of Arctic explorers. This article was pathetic. It bore evidence that it was written with a sad heart. Perhaps sympathetic readers had trouble in holding back the tears, as Wellman pictured the awful blot caused by the conscienceless Cook in sullying the fair name of the long list of heretofore unstained Arctic heroes. [illegible] e astonishment to me, however, was that one great mind could be such a r as to carry such brilliant thoughts, such tender sentiments and have [illegible]nation such a faulty memory.

It seems to be proven that Peary did not go to the Pole. He did not go to 87° 6′ in 1906 or discover Crockerland, or Cape Thomas Hubbard, or Cape Jessup, or Peary Channel. If these claims be untruths, they may smirch Peary's reputation, but they cannot annul other truths. The fact is eternal that Peary's achievements in former years, especially in northern Greenland, in daring and brilliance, are unexceeded in Arctic history.

I have endeavored in the preceding pages to unearth everything that appeared to me that Cook's bitterest enemy would desire to have dug up, and have exposed the seemingly vulnerable features that they may be considered wholly on their merits. Whatever may be thought of them separately or conjointly, there exists in them no grounds upon which to base an argument that Cook did not go to the Pole, which is the query we are endeavoring to consider. If a critical review were made of a narrative of any other of the reputable explorers covering such matters, which have no connection with and do not support any adverse contention, it would probably be considered by the public as malice, instead of analysis, or at least captious to allude to them, because almost any explorer's narrative would be sensitive to similar exposures. But I have tried to anticipate everything that Cook's opponents may wish exposed, and to present each of the subjects so squarely to the light that the truth only may be known and seen.

I have never seen a report of the Copenhagen decision. I doubt if it was ever published. The University is supposed to have been requested by Cook, in a private capacity, to pass judgment for his benefit, on his claims as the discoverer of the North Pole. The decision in effect was (as I understand it) that Cook furnished them no proof that was in itself sufficient to justify them in giving an affirmative decision. I also understand that they included in the decision that they saw nothing in the documents that were submitted to them that in any way discredited his claim. They gave in effect a neutral decision.

Let us be fair with these distinguished members of the

Copenhagen University who have been both criticised and applauded by partisans of the two claimants. What else could they honestly have said? Would they have been expected to debase and defame themselves as did the members of the National Geographic Society in the superficial and farcical examination of Peary's case? As members of a scientific institution, could they afford to do this? Could any *scientific* institution afford it for the personal glory of a private individual, in this case, for a citizen of a foreign country?

How Cook could have expected such a decision, or how the committee could have been expected by anyone to give such a decision, passes comprehension. Cook certainly did not expect it, but he was driven by the press to ask it. The University never could have expected to give anything else but what it did give. I do not believe there is an honest scientist who will say that the committee of the Copenhagen University could have rendered honestly any other decision than the one they did render, or were reported to have rendered.

This view of proofs need not be gone over in detail here. The principles involved have been reviewed fully in Chapter VII (Part I) when exposing the duplicity and perfidy of the committee of the National Geographic Society. It is sufficient here to repeat, that it was an utter impossibility for Cook to have furnished proofs of having reached the North Pole, except indirectly by his story, and such corroborative evidence as his Eskimo companions could have given, if they could have been examined by the committee. None other exists to be given. None other could exist, unless he had claimed to have found land at the Pole, or had made accurate or satisfactory soundings there.

Cook says he discovered Bradley Land between the 84th and 85th parallel on the 102nd meridian; and glacial ice, or a submerged island, farther north. If Bradley Land is where he says it is (and the truth will be known ultimately) Cook's claims that far north at least will be proved, for he is the only person who ever claimed to have traversed that portion of the globe. He is the first among men to invade the Polar Sea to

the northwest of Grant Land. If Bradley Land exists it will refute every vestige of opposition that has ever been set up against Cook, and his claims to the discovery of the North Pole probably will be universally accepted, whether true or not.

It is now clearly evident that I have been unable by any research and investigation that I have made, to find anything in Cook's narrative to change my first impression that it is as a whole a reasonable and believable story. It by no means follows, however, that because I am unable to detect any serious errors, that others cannot do so. I have not, of course, seen all that has been written against Cook, and even if it were possible to read it all, I think it would be unnecessary, because all that has been, or can be written, must of necessity be based upon the same information, the same data, the same evidence. I have read all that I have seen upon the subject, and I now shall review carefully the principal arguments which I think cover all of importance that have been advanced, and endeavor to ascertain whether the logic is good, whether the argument is based on solid ground, and the reasonings upon a just foundation, and let the reader reach his own conclusions as to whether or not Cook's story in all the circumstances, is believable. By this method Cook's claims will be reviewed carefully, and his narrative analyzed.

CHAPTER II

MT. McKINLEY

THE sudden springing of the Mt. McKinley incident at the psychological moment to discredit Cook until Peary could get his claims allowed is immaterial to this analysis. The object undoubtedly was to convince the public that Cook probably did not reach the summit of Mt. McKinley, and that his statement a few years previous that he did, was false, and then apply the rule "if false in one thing false in all." If Peary did not himself reach 87° 06′ in 1906 he may have felt the delicacy of his own position, and have taken a cue therefrom, to provide a weapon against Cook. These were good tactics for influencing public opinion, but under the circumstances, not good morals. The only fact in the shape of evidence produced was the perjured testimony of a suborned witness. A witness that swears that he had repeatedly lied for many years to a multitude of people and then confesses that he was suborned to admit it, would not be allowed to offer such testimony in any trial among civilized people. This is all that is so far presented to discredit Cook's claims.

Insincere expeditions have since been dispatched to scale this mountain and failed. I do not care to divert the argument by reviewing the reports. I cannot present a very singular and significant coincidence regarding the Mt. McKinley controversy in language of my own, that will so clearly express my thoughts, as I can by quoting from the Congressional Record* an extract from a speech in the senate of the United States by Senator Poindexter.

"The first description of conditions in the immediate

*8065—Vol. 51—No. 116.

region of the Pole ever published was cabled by Doctor Cook from Lerwick, Shetland Islands, to the *New York Herald* September 1, 1909. This account was printed in full in the *New York Herald*, September 2, 1909. In this account Doctor Cook reported the immediate polar surface as a sea of moving ice, composed of old ice, of large level ice fields; apparently purple-blue in color; drifting southeast; ice moving freely; smooth surface, easy traveling; pressure lines less marked, easily crossed; leads and water sky east and south; temperature −15 to −46; horizon seemingly extended; a deep sea; no land. The only other account ever published of physical conditions at the Pole was sent out by Robert E. Peary from Indian Harbor, Labrador, to the *New York Times*, on September 11 and 12, 1909, nine days after Cook's account was published in the *Herald*. In this account Peary stated that he was at the Pole on April 6, 1909, and corroborated in every material detail the previously published description of Dr. Cook as to sea, ice, temperature, drift, colors, absence of land, at the Pole. If Cook did not reach the Pole with his Esquimaux in 1908, how did he know the physical conditions surrounding it? There was no human being who knew or ever claimed to know previous to that time; and his account of the facts corroborated by Peary is at variance with previous theories.

"Previous to the so-called polar controversy every one who had ever been associated with Cook in exploring expeditions spoke well of his character and ability. When the polar controversy arose and grew bitter an attempt was made to discredit Cook by attacking his account of the ascent of Mount McKinley. In this matter, as in the polar trip, Doctor Cook published an account of his explorations. In *Harper's Monthly Magazine* for May, 1907, he described the physical conditions and appearances of the ascent and the summit of McKinley. This was published in book form in 1908. Previous to these publications no one had ever described the summit of McKinley. No one claimed to know its condition or appearance. He described minutely the 'northeast ridge', its sharp summit, and the route by it to the extreme summit of the mountain; the great upstanding granite rocks at the point of approach to the Median Glacier, or 'Grand Basin', lying between the north and south peaks of the extreme summit; the two summit peaks themselves; and that the south peak is the higher of the two. No one had ever stated these facts before Doctor Cook's publication of them. No one ever claimed to know them before Cook's

ascent of the mountain. They could only be ascertained by an ascent of the mountain.

"In *Scribner's Magazine* for November, 1913, Archdeacon Hudson Stuck publishes an account of his own subsequent ascent of the mountain. In it he corroborates in every material feature Cook's previously published account of the sharp backbone of the northeast ridge; the difficulties of its ascent; the great granite rocks at the entrance to the Grand Basin; the Median Glacier; the north and south peaks, and that the south peak is the higher.

"It is difficult to explain Doctor Cook's previously published accurate description of these things, the first ever given, except by admitting his actual ascent of the mountain's summit."*

*Mount McKinley and Mountain climbers' proofs by Edwin Swift Balch, Campion and Company, Philadelphia.

This book was issued during the close of 1914 by a noted author and mountain climber. The book to my mind is a masterpiece of the reviewer's art. He compares the narratives, statements and denials of the various claimants who followed Cook, and proves convincingly by their own writings that Cook was the first to reach the summit.

A pamphlet somewhat along the same lines as Mr. Balch's book entitled *Mount McKinley, its bearing on the Polar Controversy* by E. C. Rost, Washington, D. C. appeared also in 1914. The author is a skilled artist and traveler. He reproduces Cook's photograph of the top of Mount McKinley, also a photograph by Belmore Browne of what Browne calls Cook's Fake Mountain, bringing the two pictures to the same scale, thereby exposing the counterfeit nature of Browne's picture. He also exposes the shuffling of both Browne and the Reverend Archdeacon Hudson Stuck in a most convincing way.

CHAPTER III

COOK'S FOOD ALLOWANCE

Much has been written to show that Cook did not have enough food and could not get enough, with other supplies, on his two sleds to support him for 80 days.

Three articles appeared in *The Outlook*, over the signature of George Kennan. They attracted attention; perhaps were decisive at the time, as to Cook's fate. They are, therefore, entitled to careful consideration. The first article appeared in the issue of October 2, 1909, attempting to show that Cook could not have traveled as far as he claimed he did, because he could not have packed upon his two sleds sufficient food for the journey.

The following extracts* cover the purport of the first article, omitting most of the author's allusions to his own feats in other fields as immaterial; excepting, however, his humble admission that he "acquired what may fairly be called an expert judgment with regard to the subject under discussion—Arctic sledging."

"His dog food, apparently consisted of the flesh of musk-oxen, since he had killed more than a hundred of these animals shortly before he began his final dash. Musk-ox flesh, from the point of view of palatability is not a good dog food, because it contains a high percentage of water and is very heavy in proportion to the amount of nourishment that it affords."

* * * * * * * * * *

"Now in order to stay eighty-two days in the field, with twenty-six dogs, Dr. Cook would have had to start from the northern end of Heiberg Island with 5000 pounds of dog food loaded on two sledges, to say nothing of *fuel, camp equipage, spare clothing*, and twelve week's food for three men.

**Outlook*, Oct. 2, 1909, page 255.

"In other words, twenty-six dogs would have had to 'dash' out over the polar ice with a load of nearly three tons. I do not believe that it would have been possible to carry such a load even over a smooth Siberian tundra. Of course, Dr. Cook might have started with only half this quantity of musk-ox flesh, and might have lessened his consumption by gradually killing his dogs; but in that case, he could hardly have remained eighty-two days in the field and made 1,140 nautical miles over polar ice, even if he fed dog to dog and ate dog until there were no dogs left.

"As a dog sledger of some experience, I do not believe it possible either to carry five thousand pounds of dog food on two sledges, or to remain eighty-two days in the field without supporting parties, food deposits, or game supplies."

In his second article Kennan was forced by adverse criticism to admit that no facts existed for publishing this musk-ox falsehood. The fabric, therefore, that was erected in such a plausible manner, from such data falls upon the removal of its base. The inducement that tempted this magazine, to print such a baseless fabrication can only be conjectured. The editors knew it was unfounded evidence, and that it was trumped up solely to convict a person who, for all they knew, was innocent. But no one would have supposed them so unsophisticated as to imagine that such a transparent fraud could pass muster, undetected. But for some reason they took the chance.

It is difficult to make counterfeits that will circulate undetected. Mr. Kennan's second article* gets the mint stamp of the editors to help it pass current. They preface the article with an editorial note, in which they state "It is, however, in the meantime perfectly proper to comment upon *actual statements* made by either explorer." No one can question this position, but the article thus endorsed then deliberately omits "*actual statements*" and substitutes distorted and invented ones.

The first portion of this second article is an admission as before stated, that the facts for the first article were fabricated.

**Outlook, Oct. 16, 1909.*

Yet, without compunction, the writer proceeds, under the endorsement above noted, to perpetrate a second, and more despicable fraud than in the first. It lays a foundation for argument in "starved dogs" instead of "musk-oxen." It would seem that only minds governed by moral turpitude would have the audacity to invent or to publish such statistics.

Kennan assumes that Cook's dogs were "starved, until more than half of them died of starvation." There is not one word in Cook's writings to justify such a monstrous accusation. To emphasize this basic fact of "starvation" as if the editorial endorsement was insufficient, the article re-iterates the words "starved"—"starved dogs"—"starvation diet"—"starvation basis"—"dogs starved to death"—"dogs died of starvation" etc., ten times in three columns of the magazine. Then obviously assuming that the starvation falsehood is accepted by the reader, the article proceeds from this false premise to make computations from scientific authorities as to the value of such food, and arrives at the conclusion that Cook deliberately starved his dogs to death, until there were only "*five pounds of food left to a dog* saturated with fatigue toxins." Then, in that condition that remnant was eaten.

Based upon such a falsehood, no conclusion is of any value. It would be a waste of time to chase it farther. This article obviously was more than the public could bear. The invention was too plain. The complaints were so numerous and bitter, that it required one more article, which appeared in the November 20th number to gracelessly recede from the subject.

Whether Cook is guilty or innocent, he should not be compelled in a civilized community to defend himself against such shamelessness as this.

The question of Cook's food supply will now be treated fully, and it is believed with sufficient clarity to cover and meet all arguments, so far published. It is only just to make a separate analysis, based upon Cook's exact words, and submit it to a candid public.

It is unnecessary to consume much space in demonstrating

that Cook carried sufficient food for his needs. He gives a full inventory of the cargo on his sleds, and when compared with Nansen's and Amundsen's, the inventory is itself conclusive evidence of its sufficiency. Nevertheless as the Table No. 12* or bill of fare which follows, gives opportunity to demonstrate other matters equally important, it is inserted.

At the time that Kennan wrote his article, all that Cook had written about his supply and his food allowance was under the following dates: March 18, 19, 20, 21, 29, April 11, 14, 19, 20, 30, May 3, 6, 24 and June 13. Each day will be considered separately. It will be shown that Cook's statements are unmistakable in meaning, and perfectly consistent. To examine them, even though tedious, is to inspire confidence in the truthfulness of Cook's whole narrative. It would seem that no one, unless truthful, could so completely cover his tracks, involving so many intricate and unusual conditions.

Here are the dates and the record:

5th installment.†

March 18. "The dogs had been doubly fed the night before. They were not to be fed again for two days. Twenty-six dogs were picked and upon two sleds were loaded all our needs for eighty days."

March 19. "Supporting party volunteered to push along another day without dog food."

March 20. "After disposing of a pot of steaming musk-ox loins and broth, followed by a double brew of tea, our last helpers returned. With empty sleds, and hungry dogs they hoped to reach the land in one long day's travel. But this would make the fourth day without food for their dogs, and in case of storm, or moving ice, other days of famine might easily fall to their lot. They had, however, abundance of dogs and might sacrifice a few for the benefit of the others, as we must often do."

March 21. "Previously we permitted ourselves some luxuries. A pound of coal oil, and a good deal of musk-ox tallow were burned each day to heat the igloo, and to cook abundant food. Extra meats were served when occasion

*Page 407.

†Quoted from *New York Herald*, September, 1909.

called for it, and each man ate and drank all he desired. If the stockings or mittens were wet, there was fire enough to dry them out, but *all* this must now be changed."

6th installment.

March 21. "There was a sharp daily allowance of food and fuel. One pound of pemmican per day for dogs, about the same for men, with just a taste of other things. Fortunately we were well stuffed for the race with fresh meat in the lucky run through the game lands. *At first no great hardship followed the changed routine. We filled up sufficiently on cold meats, and used bodily tissue.*" (How many days he did this he does not say.)

"After two cups of tea, a watch size biscuit, a *chip* of *frozen meat*, and a boulder of pemmican, we crept out of our bags."

9th installment.

March 29. "A double ration was eaten."

10th installment.

April 11. Latitude 87° 20′—Longitude 95° 19′ going north.

"Nearly half of the food allowance had been used. In long marches, supplies had been more liberally used than anticipated, and now our dog teams were much reduced in number. A hard necessity had forced the cruel law of the survival of the fittest, for the less useful dogs were fed to the steady working survivors. Owing to the food limits and the advacing season, we could not prudently continue the outward march a fortnight longer.

"We had dragged ourselves 360* miles over the polar sea in twenty-four days, including delays and detours. This gave an average of nearly thirteen daily on an air line in our course. There remained an unknown line of 160 miles before our ambitions could be satisfied. The same average advance which we had made on the pack would take us to the pole in thirteen days."

"There was food and fuel enough to risk this adventure."

11th installment.

April 14. "Other dogs had gone into the stomachs of their hungry companions, etc."

*This is written in "*My Attainment of the Pole*" as three hundred days. The error has been explained on another page.

April 19. "The tent was pitched, the dogs were silenced by blocks of pemmican. In us now enthusiasm was aroused by a liberal pot of pea soup, and a few *chips* of *frozen* meat."

April 20. "The dogs which had joined in the chorus of gladness, were given an extra lump of pemmican."

12th installment.

April 30. "Under fair conditions there was barely food enough to reach land, while even short delays might easily jeopardize our return. We could not, therefore, do otherwise than to force ourselves against the wind and drift with all possible speed, closing the eye to unavoidable suffering."

May 3. "The steady diet of pemmican, tea and biscuit was now entirely satisfactory. We longed for enough to give a real filling sense, but *the ration was slightly reduced*, rather than increased."

May 6. "The food supply was noticeably decreasing, the daily allowance was reduced. With such weather, starvation seemed inevitable."

May 24. Near 84° 00′, 97° 00′ Longitude.

"There remained on the sleds scarcely enough food to reach our caches, unless we averaged fifteen miles daily. On the return from the pole to here, we had only been able to make twelve miles daily. Now our strength even under fair conditions did not seem to be equal to more than ten miles. . . . Trying to make the most of our hard lot, a straight course was set for the musk-ox lands of the inner crossing."

He says further:

"At the 83rd parallel, we found ourselves to the west of a large tract extending southward. The ice changed to small fields. . . . With a few lines on paper to register the life of suffering, the food for man and dog was reduced to a three quarter ration, while the difficulties of ice travel rose to disheartening heights. . . . At the end of twenty days through thick fog, the sky cleared and we found ourselves far down in Prince Gustav Sea."

"Passing through Hassel Sound between the Ringes Islands, bears and seals were secured."

June 13:—This brings Cook to June 13, and to the end of his anxiety as to food, with 21.8 pounds of pemmican still on hand as shown in Table 12. He also had 10 dogs, some of

which would have been killed if necessary. This is a perfectly consistent narrative from beginning to end, agreeing in every respect with all his statements, and with all his calculations. It shows how he could have lived with the allowance he provided at the start.

We now may consider intelligently the statements separately as to the sufficiency of food and check them with other matters. Take March 18: Cook writes "Etukishuk and Ahwela, two young Eskimos, each 20 years old, had been chosen as best fitted to be my companions in the long run of destiny. Twenty-six dogs were picked, and upon two sleds were loaded all our needs for a stay of eighty days."

"The little train, therefore, which followed me into the further mystery was composed of two sleds carrying 600 pounds drawn by thirteen dogs under the lash of an expert driver."

"The combined weight was as follows:

Pemmican	805 lbs.	Condensed Milk	40 lbs.
Todnu	25 lbs.	Surprise	5 lbs.
Musk-ox tenderloin	50 lbs.	Milk biscuit	60 lbs.
Tea	2 lbs.	Petroleum	80 lbs.
Coffee	1 lb.	Wood Alcohol	2 lbs.
Sugar	25 lbs.	Candles	3 lbs.
Pea Soup powdered and compressed.	10 lbs.	Matches	1 lb."

Then follows a list of the camp equipment. It will, therefore, be seen that the 80 days of food allowance consisted of:

805 lbs. of pemmican.
50 lbs. of Musk-ox loins, and
960 lbs. of dog carcasses (dog food).

Cook unfortunately does not give the weight of his dogs. This weight is arrived at in the following manner. Cook selected 103 dogs before leaving Annoatok on February 19, 1908. His decision to make the expedition to the Pole was because of the remarkable opportunity afforded to select the best dogs and men for the purpose. In his second installment he writes: "A diligent exploration of the town (Annoatok) disclosed the fact that we had reached not only the northern-

most town, but the most prosperous settlement of the Greenland shore."

"The best hunters had gathered here for the winter bear hunt. This game catch had been very lucky. Immense catches of the meat were strewn along the shore. *More than 100 dogs* voice the hunt force with which the Eskimo prosperity is measured. The wealth in food and furs in this place fixed my determination on the spot for the polar dash. We were standing at a point 700 miles from the pole. *The strongest force of men, the best teams,* and unlimited supply of food combined with the equipment on board the yacht, formed an ideal plant from which to work out the campaign." Much more that he writes, shows that the Eskimos themselves had selected the best dogs, for their own hunting purposes. From these dogs, after a winter's experience with them in hunting, Cook selected 103 for his polar trip. After traveling 400 miles across Ellesmere Land with these 103 dogs, he then selected from this later experience, for the polar dash, the best 26 dogs in the Arctic.

When Peary came north in August of the same year, he was compelled to make his selection from what dogs remained. Peary says:* "My dogs weighed from 80 to 100 lbs. each, and one of them weighed 125 lbs." When it is remembered that Peary had 246 dogs, which he says averaged 90 lbs. each (discarding the one dog of 125 lbs.) it would be fair to assume that Cook's 103 dogs would average more, and his final selection of 26 would probably average 95 lbs. each. But it will be assumed that Cook's dogs only weighed 60 lbs. each, instead of 95 lbs. The purpose herein is to show that at 60 lbs. per dog he could pull through.

Cook killed 14 dogs enroute to the Pole, and 2 returning, or 16 altogether; which dogs furnished 960 lbs. of carcasses as food for the surviving dogs. This was all dog food every pound. All arctic travelers say, that a hungry Eskimo dog that is fed a dead animal or bird, eats hair, feathers, and all,

**North Pole,* Page 70.

leaving nothing on the ice when he has finished his meal.

Therefore, Cook had at the start 805 lbs. of pemmican and 50 lbs. of musk-ox loins as food for the men and dogs, and 960 lbs. of dog (carcasses) extra, as food for dogs. All of these carcasses were at one time or another fed out to surviving dogs. Cook and Peary both fed one pound of pemmican per day as a ration, for man, and dog, alike. The men "had a taste of other things," but this was the allowance of pemmican.

Cook does not give the dates on which each dog was killed (or died). He killed a dog at the proper time, for economical use of his provisions. No theoretical improvement can be made upon what he actually did, in selecting days for the killing of the dogs. But for uniformity in figures, it is supposed that they were killed just as fast as needed for food, but killing the last of the fourteen, the day before reaching the Pole, in order that this last dog might consume before being killed as much of the food supply as possible, allowing the surviving dogs a ration of fresh dog meat, of two and a half pounds,* and a ration of one pound of pemmican. With this data, is tabulated a bill of fare, (Table 12), which could have been adopted by Cook, although, of course, he improved upon it. Anyway it is sufficient for this argument.

April 11, he says: "Nearly one half of the food allowance is gone." Every fair minded man knows what that means. "Nearly one half" does not mean fully one half. As a basis of figuring, however, it may be assumed it means more than one fourth and less than one half, or say three eights; but to figure it as fully one half would be improper. "Food allowance" does not mean simply pemmican. It means "*food allowance*" which includes dog carcasses fed into live dogs, as was mentioned, and calculated upon in the beginning, and to which consumption he often refers. He was, on that date, April 11, clearly measuring all the possibilities of reaching the Pole, and getting back to land, and what he says should be fairly construed in the light of that fact. He had been out 24 days, 13 days

*Nansen allowed 1 lb. dog flesh as a ration for a dog.

more would complete his outward march in 37 days. The same number in returning would bring him back to land in seventy-four days, showing so far that his eighty days estimate was proper and ample.

Fifth Statement, Twelfth Installment.

May 24. Near 84° 00′—97° 00′ long., Cook writes:

"There remained on the sleds scarcely enough food to reach our caches, unless we averaged fifteen miles daily. On the return from the Pole to here, we had only been able to make twelve miles daily. Now our strength, even under fair conditions, did not seem to be equal to more than ten miles. . . . Trying to make the most of our hard lot, a straight course was set for the musk-ox lands of the inner crossing."

He was near 84° 00′ Latitude, 97° 00′ Longitude. His cache at Svartevoeg was in Latitude 81° 20′, Longitude 93° 00′, about 185 miles distant, in direct line or say 200 miles of actual travel. To reach this, he says he would need to travel fifteen miles per day, or thirteen and one-third days. This would bring him to June 6 or 7. But he says "Our strength even under fair conditions did not seem to be equal to more than ten miles." This would mean twenty days travel to reach his cache, or to June 13. He had ten dogs and three men to feed, or thirteen full rations for thirteen and one-third days. He was feeding reduced rations amounting in the aggregate to 11.0 pounds per day, which would require 220 pounds for twenty days. Table 12 shows he had on his sled 221.8 pounds. His final remarks bring him beyond anxiety for food:

"At the 83rd parallel, we found ourselves to the west of a large tract extending southward. The ice changed to small fields With a few lines on paper to register the ife of suffering the food for man and dog was reduced to a three lquarter ration, while the difficulties of ice travel rose to dis heartening heights. At the end of twenty days through thick fog, the sky cleared and we found ourselves far down in Prince Gustav Sea. Passing through Hassel Sound l etween the Ringes Islands bears and seals were secured."

TABLE XII.

Date	DOGS: Live Dogs	DOGS: Dogs died	DOGS: Carcass Weight	BILL OF FARE — FOOD ALLOWANCE — DOGS: Dog Carcasses Ration 2½ lbs. — Wgt. fed to each dog.	Dog Carcasses Ration 2½ lbs. — Total wgt. fed.	Pemmican Ration 1 lb. — Wgt. fed to each dog.	Pemmican Ration 1 lb. — Total wgt fed.	MEN: *Pemmican Ration 1 lb. — Total wgt. fed to 3 men.†	TOTAL PEMMICAN: Total Consumed lbs.	TOTAL PEMMICAN: Left on sleds lbs.
Mar.	"The dogs had been doubly fed the night before.									
18	26	They were not to be fed again for two days."								805
	"Supporting party volunteered to push along another day without dog food."									
19	26									
20	26	See map No. 8. Supporting party returned after supper. Fed morning meal from food left on ice by supporting party.								
21	26					.5	13	2	13	792
22	26					1.0	26	6	26	766
23	26					1.0	26	6	26	740
		Few Algea were gathered.								
24	25	1st	60	1.2	30	.4	10	6	10	730
25				1.2	30	.4	10	6	10	720
26	24	2nd	60	1.2	30	.4	9.6	6	9.6	710.4
27				1.2	30	.4	9.6	6	9.6	700.8
28	23	3rd	60	1.3	30	.34	8.0	6	8.0	692.8
29				1.3	30	.34	8.0	6	8.0	684.8
30	22	4th	60	1.3	30	.35	7.7	3	10.7	674.1
31				1.3	30	.35	7.7	3	10.7	663.4
Apr.										
1	21	5th	60	1.4	30	.3	6.3	3	9.3	654.1
2				1.4	30	.3	6.3	3	9.3	644.8
3	20	6th	60	1.5	30	.25	5.0	3	8.0	636.8
4				1.5	30	.25	5.0	3	8.0	628.8
5	19	7th	60	1.5	30	.25	4.8	3	7.8	621.0
6				1.5	30	.25	4.8	3	7.8	613.2
7	18	8th	60	1.6	30	.2	3.6	3	6.6	606.6
8				1.6	30	.2	3.6	3	6.6	600
9	17	9th	60	1.7	30	.14	2.5	3	5.5	594.5
10				1.7	30	.14	2.5	3	5.5	589.0

The 50 lbs. musk-ox loins are disposed of during these 9 days in double rations.

*Nansen allowed 1 lb. as a ration. †50 lbs. musk-ox loins disposed of in first 9 days.

†In order to avoid complication in this account and to avoid extra columns in the table, I have disposed of the 50 lbs. of musk-ox loins during the first 9 days after leaving the supporting party by entering it in the men's food column of pemmican, and feeding it out daily in double rations until it is gone. The men's food column then proceeds with the pemmican.

DOGS				FOOD ALLOWANCE					TOTAL PEMMICAN	
				DOGS				MEN		
				Dog Carcasses 2½ lbs.		Pemmican Ration 1 lb.		Pemmican Ration 1 lb.		
Date	Live Dogs	Dogs died	Carcass weight	Wgt. fed to each dog.	Total wgt. fed.	Wgt. fed to each dog.	Total wgt. fed.	Total wgt. fed to 3 men.	Total Consumed lbs.	Left on sleds lbs.
"Food allowance nearly half gone." (See page 405)										
11	16	10th	60	1.8	30	.1	1.6	3	4.6	584.4
12				1.8	30	.1	1.6	3	4.6	579.8
13	15	11th	60	2.0	30			3	3	576.8
"Other dogs had gone into the stomachs of their hungry companions."										
14				2.0	30			3	3	573.8
15	14	12th	60	2.0	28			3	3	570.8
16	14			2.0	28			3	3	567.8
17	13	13th	60	2.0	26			3	3	564.8
18	13			2.0	26			3	3	561.8
19	12	14th	60	2.0	24			3	3	558.8
20	12			2.0	24			3	3	555.8
Reached Pole.										
21	12			2.0	24			3	3	552.8
22	11	15th	60	2.0	22			3	3	549.8
Left Pole.										
23	11			2.0	22			3	3	546.8
24	10	16th	60	2.0	20			3	3	543.8
25	10			2.0	20			3	3	540 8
26	10			2.0	20			3	3	537.8
27	10			1.0	10			3	3	534.8
28	10					1	10	3	13	521.8
29	10					1	10	3	13	508.8
30	10					1	10	3	13	495.8
May										
1	10					1	10	3	13	482.8
2	10					1	10	3	13	469.8
3	10					1	10	3	13	456.8
4	10					1	10	3	13	443.8
5	10					1	10	3	13	430.8
6	10					.8	8	3	11	419.8
7	10					.8	8	3	11	408.8
8	10					.8	8	3	11	397.8
9	10					.8	8	3	11	386.8
10	10					.8	8	3	11	375.8
--	10					.8	8	3	11	364.8
	-0					.8	8	3	11	353.8

Date	DOGS		FOOD ALLOWANCE					TOTAL PEMMICAN	
			DOGS				MEN		
	Live Dogs Dogs died	Carcass weight.	Dog Carcasses Ration 2½ lbs.		Pemmican Ration 1 lb.		Pemmican 1 lb.		
			Wgt. fed to each dog.	Total wgt. fed.	Wgt. fed to each dog.	Total wgt. fed.	Total wgt. fed to 3 men.	Total Consumed lbs.	Left on sleds lbs.
13	10				.8	8	3	11	342.8
14	10				.8	8	3	11	331.8
15	10				.8	8	3	11	320.8
16	10				.8	8	3	11	309.8
17	10				.8	8	3	11	298.8
18	10				.8	8	3	11	287.8
19	10				.8	8	3	11	276.8
20	10				.8	8	3	11	265.8
21	10				.8	8	3	11	254.8
22	10				.8	8	3	11	243.8
23	10				.8	8	3	11	232.8
24	10				.8	8	3	11	221.8
25	10				.8	8	3	11	210.8
26	10				.8	8	3	11	199.8
27	10				.8	8	3	11	188.8
28	10				.8	8	3	11	177.8
29	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	168.05
30	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	158.30
31	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	148.55
June									
1	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	138.80
2	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	129.05
3	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	119.30
4	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	109.55
5	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	99.80
6	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	90.05
7	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	80.30
8	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	70.55
9	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	60.80
10	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	51.05
11	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	41.30
12	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	31.55
	Seals and Bears are secured.								
13	10				.75	7.5	2.25	9.75	21.80
						567.2	216.00	783.20	

The foregoing bill of fare shows that it was possible to feed both men and dogs 84 days at the daily rations indicated. But this is not the whole truth. Two and one-half pounds of fresh meat is used as a daily ration for a dog. This is a double ration. One pound or one and one-fourth pounds would have been sufficient.* The average weight of a dog carcass is estimated to be 60 lbs. only. This was done for the purpose of demonstrating that even at that low estimate, it was sufficient. A fair estimate would have been 90 to 95 lbs. each. Peary says his averaged 90 lbs. Besides this, Cook had 10 dogs left on June 13, when he found seals and bears. He could have killed, and would have killed, some of them, and fed them to others, instead of giving them pemmican from his sled, if his supplies were as low as shown in the table.

This analysis based on Cook's own statements shows beyond contention that there is no foundation for discrediting Cook on the grounds of insufficient food supply.

This was all the information that it was possible for Kennan to have had before him when he wrote.

*Nansen allowed 1 lb.

CHAPTER IV

PROF. STOCKWELL'S CRITICISMS

THERE still remained one more class of citizens for the conspirators to reach in order to make their plan effective, for disposing of Cook, and that was to enlist some great, scientific mind in the cause. This would cap the climax, and silence contention. But what scientist could be engaged who had the reputation, the scholarship, the distinction to create the impression needed, whose writings would attract attention the world over? Nature provides a Napoleon for every crisis. In this instance the place was filled by the illustrious Professor of Astronomy in the Cleveland University. What such a distinguished author would write need not be confined to a monthly magazine. The daily press were only too glad to get it. His articles appeared simultaneously throughout the civilized world. It was the master-stroke of a masterful campaign. His articles were prefaced by the following comment:*

"John Nelson Stockwell, A. M. Ph. D., has attracted world-wide attention as the author of scientific papers attacking the nebular hypothesis, and of other works which have earned him a commanding place in science.

"Professor Stockwell, in preparing the paper published below, had no animus other than to apply the tests of the science of which he is a master to Dr. Cook's data.

"He has disregarded, for the main purpose of his argument, all data secured by the use of instruments, and takes only the single physical fact—WHEN DID COOK FIRST SEE THE MIDNIGHT SUN?

"Professor Stockwell believes that Dr. Cook could not be mistaken either in the fact of seeing the sun at midnight, or in

*Daily Press, June 1910.

"THE MIDNIGHT SUN."

the day of the month he saw it. If he did not see the sun at midnight until April 7, 1908, then the astronomer is certain that the explorer's calculations as to his whereabouts must be in error by more than 300 miles."

Here is Stockwell's article on the *Midnight Sun.*

DISCREPANCY OF 316 MILES

"When a man announces to the world that he has done some great thing, it is the province and duty of men of science to apply to his account of his deed all the tests provided by the learning of mankind.

"In the matter of the North Pole, science in many of her departments provides such tests. Astronomy is a branch of science that of right must be permitted to apply its test to the data furnished by Dr. Cook, Lieutenant Peary or any other man who may claim to have discovered the geographical pole.

"I have taken the best information I could secure as to Dr. Cook's data, and I have undertaken an analysis of what his observations really show.

"Anoratok is situated in 78 degrees 37 minutes of north latitude, and is, therefore, 11 degrees 23 minutes or 790 miles from the North Pole. The sun rose at this place February 19, 1908, after having been below its horizon during 116 days, or since the 24th of the preceding October. It was from this place that Dr. Cook started on his polar expedition at sunrise February 19, 1908. He reports that on March 30, he was in latitude 84 degrees 47 minutes, which is 5 degrees 13 minutes, or 362 miles from the Pole.

"On March 30, at midnight the sun's declination was 4 degrees 0 minutes from the equator, and if to this we add 35 minutes for refraction, we get the apparent declination of the sun equal to 4 degrees 35 minutes north, and its distance from the Pole would be 85 degrees 25 minutes. If to this we add Cook's distance from the pole, or 5 degrees 13 minutes, we get 90 degrees 38 minutes for the zenith distance of the midnight sun in the latitude Cook claimed to be in at that time. The midnight sun would, therefore, be 38 minutes of a degree below his horizon, and would of course be invisible. But the midnight sun was approaching Cook's horizon at the rate of 35 minutes daily, and consequently must have reached it on March 31, or April 1 at the latest, in that place.

"But Dr. Cook tells us that the night of April 7 was made notable by the swinging of the midnight sun over the northern ice, as it marked the beginning of the six months of summer at that place. Now if Cook was in the latitude he claims to have been in, HE MUST HAVE HAD A MIDNIGHT SUN AS EARLY AS APRIL 1. But we have no reason to doubt Cook's statement that April 7 showed him his first midnight sun, and so simple an observation as seeing the sun itself would require neither instruments nor skill in using them, and could as well be made by an untutored Eskimo as by the most intelligent white man. Therefore, we will accept April 7 as the date of COOK'S FIRST MIDNIGHT SUN, and inquire what conclusions may be legitimately deduced from it.

"On April 7, at midnight, the sun's declination may be taken as north 7 degrees 4 minutes, and to this must be added the sun's semi-diameter, 16 minutes, and refraction, 35 minutes, making the declination 7 degrees 55 minutes, in order that the whole sun might appear above the horizon.

"If, then, the sun was in the horizon of some place at midnight, the place must be as far from the pole as the sun was from the equator, and consequently the polar distance must be equal to 7 degrees 55 minutes, or its latitude must be 82 degrees 5 minutes. Dr. Cook gives his latitude at the same time as 86 degrees 38 minutes. There is, therefore, a discrepancy amounting to 4 degrees 33 minutes in his latitude to be accounted for in some way, and THIS DISCREPANCY IS EQUIVALENT TO A LINEAR DISTANCE OF 316 MILES in the place of the observer.

"If Dr. Cook's latitude on April 7 was only 82 degrees 5 minutes, he was then 550 miles from the pole, and in order to reach it on April 21, he must have traveled 39 miles daily.

"In his journey towards the pole after April 7, nothing is related of special interest except the extreme precision with which he gives his latitude as determined by his sextant, namely, 89 degrees 59 minutes 46 seconds, which would give his distance from the pole equal to 1400 feet, or only 80 feet more than a quarter of a mile. It is perhaps superfluous to add that NO PORTABLE TRANSIT INSTRUMENT or sextant would be capable of giving THAT DEGREE OF PRECISION, even by a long series of observation.

"In conclusion, it appears that Dr. Cook's observations show that he was really 550 miles from the pole when he claimed

to have been only 234 miles from that point. His observations, therefore, show a discrepancy of 316 miles.

"The conclusions arrived at in this paper are based upon the assumption that the newspaper reports giving April 7 as the date of midnight sunrise are correct."

(Signed) "JOHN N. STOCKWELL."

DID NOT HAVE A HORIZON

Prof. Stockwell's expose would probably be conclusive if his premises were sound. The premises must be true or else logic is made to lie. He quotes Cook as saying "made notable by the swinging of the sun over the *northern ice.*" This is not literally but substantially a correct quotation. But Stockwell then proceeds with his computations based on a different state of facts; *viz.*, on the erroneous theory, that on April 7 the midnight sun swung just clear of the "*horizon.*" But this is not Cook's statement; it is not the above quotation; it is not Cook's position. Cook took notice, and entered in his diary, that on that day, April 7, the sun swung "*over the northern ice,*" but the true *horizon* may have been in an entirely different place from the sky line of the northern ice.

When we read Cook's narrative where he describes that day (April 7) in detail, he makes it clear, that he not only had no intention of assuming that the midnight sun swung just exactly above the edge of the horizon, but on the contrary he makes it equally clear that he had no horizon on that day and none for several days prior thereto. He says: "The night of April 7 was made notable by the swing of the sun at midnight. For a number of nights it made grim faces at us in its setting. A teasing mist, drawn as a curtain over the northern sea at midnight had given curious advantage for celestial staging; settling into this haze, *we were unable to determine sharply the advent of the midnight sun*, but here was a spectacular play which interested us immensely."

"Now, the great bulk was drawn out egg-shaped, with horizontal lines drawn through it. Again, it was pressed into

a basin with flaming fires, burning behind a curtain of frosts; blue at other times, it appeared like a huge vase, and it required very little imagination to see purple and violet flowers."

Note what Cook says in speaking of the days immediately previous to this date on April 6 in the 10th installment, 2nd paragraph.

"There was at no time a *perfectly clear horizon*, but the weather was good enough to permit frequent nautical observations." It will be seen, therefore, that Prof. Stockwell distorts Cook's language, and distorts his meaning; and then, with this erroneous premise, proceeds to show Cook in error when he is himself the one in error.

Anyone who has taken observations knows that under such conditions, as Cook describes, it would be impossible to get a perfect horizon. But Cook does not say he had a horizon; on the contrary he says that there was no horizon sufficiently distinct "to determine sharply the advent of the midnight sun"—"There was at no time a perfectly clear horizon."

Prof. Stockwell's conclusions can be of no more value than the data on which they are founded, which as shown, are clearly in error. Prof. Stockwell is a very thorough man in some ways. Before concluding his analysis, he says:

Stockwell's Description of a Sextant

"On his journey to the Pole after April 7 nothing is related of special interest, except the extreme precision with which he gives his latitude, as determined by his sextant, namely; 89 degrees 59 minutes 46 seconds, which would give his distance from the pole equal to 1440 feet, or only 80 feet more than a quarter of a mile.

"It is perhaps superfluous to add that no *portable transit instrument or sextant* would be capable of giving *that degree of precision*, even by a long series of observations."

It certainly is not only superfluous but untrue to make such a statement. Why not this degree of precision? Did the distinguished astronomer ever use a portable sextant?

The arc of portable sextants is divided or graduated, into degrees and 10 minutes; and has a vernier graduated into 10 seconds.* Observations are determined by the vernier to seconds. When the observer reads his altitude from his sextant he has it before him in degrees, minutes and to 10 seconds. If the navigator is at sea, far from land, and is not very particular as to extreme accuracy, he may drop the seconds when making his calculations, as a business man drops fractions when making a rough estimate of any problem. But if he is close to shore, or danger, he figures every second accurately. In other words, exhausts every endeavor to obtain his exact position.

Cook did just what every sensible man would have done. He dropped the seconds enroute when they were immaterial. But when he reached the Pole, the vital spot, when he knew he was making history, that posterity would expect of him every possible exertion for accuracy; he figured in every second from his altitude, and from a number of observations, in order to do his very best. This is what Shackleton, Amundsen and Scott did, what all genuine explorers have done, and what Peary says he did.

The horizon may have been imperfect and irregular, making the altitude incorrect; his observations may have been inaccurately taken; his computations may have been faulty. But who, except Prof. Stockwell, will say that "no sextant would be capable of giving that degree of precision" when he should know that most sextants (if not every sextant) are so capable. Cook describes his sextant in detail, and says it did give that very precision.†

This article by Prof. Stockwell was but a very mild transgression, compared to another from his pen, which appeared in the *New York Times*,‡ December 5, 1909. It is rather long, rambling and pointless, but in view of its significance otherwise it is quoted in full.

*Bowditch Epitome 26 Ed. Page 133.

†198, *My Attainment of the Pole.*

‡The *Times* and its syndicate of papers are the vehicles for all the Peary propaganda.

Cook was 581 Miles Short of the Pole

"In order to intelligently discuss the stories of travelers within the Arctic Circle, it is necessary for us to know the theoretical physical conditions existing there; for since that part of the world is so seldom visited, we cannot well depend upon the stories of subsequent travelers to correct the errors of their predecessors. The credibility of each traveler's story must be determined by a comparison of the observed facts with the theoretical conditions known to exist; and must stand upon its own merits.

"Observed facts are not fit subjects for course of arbitration; for facts are facts the world over and cannot be discredited for the accommodation of rhetoric and vivid descriptions. Neither are they subjects for ethical consideration. We know that if the centre of gravity is unsupported the victim falls, whether he be a saint or sinner; and justice is blind and pitiless as gravitation. It is, therefore, very important that we be able to immediately submit the facts of nature, as collected by intelligent travelers, to an immediate comparison with the theoretical conditions previously known to exist.

"The facts of nature whether theoretical or observed, are always consistent with themselves; and if discrepancies are found to exist, they must be made to disappear either by new observations, or by corrected interpretations of the older ones. This can always be done, for nature is always in harmony with herself.

"It is, therefore, thought best to give a brief outline of the theoretical conditions which exist in the circumpolar regions, for this information is not to be found in ordinary works on popular astronomy.

Differences at Various Latitudes

"If we now suppose that we are in latitude 89 degrees, our horizon will be inclined 1 degree to the horizon of the pole, and 1 degree more than half of the universe will pass above our horizon each day of 24 hours. The sun will begin to rise after the long night, on March 15, at 14.9 hours, and after about 33 hours will be wholly above the southern horizon at noon. On March 20, at 16.4 hours, it will have reached the horizon of the midnight sun, and in 33 hours more will be wholly above it, and the long polar day for latitude 89 degrees will have begun.

It will then gradually rise higher each day until the Summer solstice, when it will begin to decline in altitude and reach the horizon of the midnight sun on September 22, at 8.6 hours, and the horizon of the midday sun on September 28, at 5.9 hours. The long polar day at latitude 89 degrees will equal 185 days 16.2 hours, and the long polar night will equal 169 days 9.0 hours. The long polar night in latitude 89 degrees is, therefore 16 days 7.2 hours shorter than the long polar day.*

"If we now consider the physical conditions at 80 degrees of latitude, we shall find:

"Sun's upper limb disappears in midday horizon after a long day October 22, at 2.1 hours, and reappears at the same point on February 21 at 1.9 hours, after a long night of 121 days and 23.8 hours. The midnight sun appears in the north on April 13 at 4.6 hours, and disappears at the same place on August 29 at 13.0 hours, after having been above the horizon 136 days and 8.4 hours. The long polar night in latitude 80 degrees is, therefore, 16 days 8.6 hours shorter than the long polar day.

"At 70 degrees of latitude the sun's upper limb disappears November 26 at 3.1 hours and reappears at the same place January 17 at 8.5 hours after a long night of 51 days 20.5 hours. The midnight sun appears on May 16 at 3.0 hours, and disappears at the same place July 27 at 6.7 hours, after a long day of 72 days 2.7 hours. The long night in 70 degrees of latitude is, therefore, 20 days 7.2 hours shorter than the long polar day.

Cook's Narrative Dissected

"At latitude 67 degrees 30 minutes, which if very near the southern limit of the frigid zone, the sun disappears below the midday horizon on December 17 at 4.7 hours, and reappears on December 27 at 8.0 hours, the long night being equal to 10 days 4.4 hours. The midnight sun appears in the northern horizon on May 29 at 2.3 hours, and disappears at the same place July 14 at 5.4 hours, having been above the horizon 46 days 3.1 hours. The long night in latitude 67 degrees 30 minutes is, therefore, very nearly equal to 36 days shorter than the long day.

"We see from this general exposition of the physical conditions existing in the circumpolar regions that the long polar

*These figures seem to make the year short by 10 days. 185 days, 16. 2 plus 169 days 9 hrs. equal 355 days 1.2 hrs.

day increases in length as we approach the Pole, and the long polar night diminishes in length as we approach the Arctic Circle. We also notice that the long polar night in all places is shorter than the long polar day at the same place, and the difference in length between the day and the night can never be less than sixteen days.

"We are now prepared to intelligently discuss Dr. Cook's narrative concerning his dash to the Pole; and the first point for consideration relates to his point of departure. Dr. Cook tells us that Annoatok is within 700 miles of the Pole; and we have already seen that one degree of the meridian in latitude of 85 degrees is equal to 69.391 miles. Ten degrees of the meridian would, therefore, be equal to 693.91 miles; and since this is less than 700 miles, we would conclude that Annoatok is situated very nearly in 80 degrees of latitude. But in latitude 80 degrees the sun sets at noon on October 22, and the long winter night of 122 days begins. Dr. Cook also tells us that during the last days of brief sunshine the weather cleared, and at noon on October 24 everybody sought freedom of the open for a last glimpse of the dying day. There was a charm of color and glitter, but no one seemed quite happy as the sun sank under the southern sky, for it was not to rise again for 118 days. This was in 1907; and the sun next rose at Annoatok on February 19, 1908. The long night at Anoratok being only 118 days, shows that its latitude is less than 80 degrees, for we have already seen that in latitude of 80 degrees the long night is 122 days in length.

Cook's Abnormal Figures

"Dr. Cook further says: 'At Annoatok the midnight sun is first seen over the sea horizon on April 23. It dips in the sea on August 19. It thus encircles the horizon, giving Summer and continuous days for 118 days. It sets at midday on October 24, and is absent a period of prolonged night, corresponding to the day, and rises, on February 20.'

"By a singular and significant coincidence the long night between October 24 and February 20 amounts to 118 days; and the long night at Anoratok is just equal to the long day. We have already seen that under normal conditions the length of a long night at any point of the frigid zone must be at least sixteen days shorter than the long day. Dr. Cook must, therefore, have been observing under abnormal conditions the nature of which it becomes necessary to explain.

"Dr. Cook reports that the long day at Annoatok continues during 118 days, a long day of that length within the Arctic Circle corresponds to a latitude of 76 degrees 30 minutes. The beginning of that day is April 23 and the end is August 19. The midnight sun rises and sets in a sea horizon; and consequently serves to determine the latitude correctly. At the latitude of 76 degrees 30 minutes the long night would begin on November 1 and end on February 19 and have a length of 101 days, being 17 days shorter than the long day in that latitude. The observed fact that the long night at Annoatok is equal to the long day at the same place, shows that the horizon of the midday sun is not in the same plane as that of the midnight sun.

Cook Wrong Either Way

"The southern or land horizon at Annoatok is, therefore, elevated by more than 3 degrees above the sea horizon, and lengthens the long night at the place by 17 days.

"Based upon these statements of Dr. Cook which are consistent in themselves, we must conclude that his place of departure, Annoatok, is in latitude 76 degrees 30 minutes or 936.8 miles from the Pole.*

"Accepting this determination of the latitude of Annoatok, it is easy by means of the map of his route as published in *The New York Herald* of October 1 to very approximately estimate the distance to be traveled in order to reach the Pole. For it is easy to see that the route may approximately be divided into two parts, one of which is a parallel of latitude about 20 degrees in length, straight west from Annoatok; and the other, an arc of a meridian 13 degrees 30 minutes, or 937 miles, straight to the Pole.

"Now one degree of longitude in latitude 70 degrees 30 minutes is equal to 16.2 miles; 20 degrees are, therefore, equal to 324 miles, and if to this we add the meridian distance of 937 miles, we get the whole distance to the Pole equal to 1,261 miles. This is the least possible distance to the pole by the route followed; and if to this we add 10 percent, to allow for zigzagging or sinuosities of the various courses, the actual distance traveled would amount to 1,386 miles. Dr. Cook gives the distance traveled as follows:

*In Prof. Stockwell's article on Midnight Sun he says the latitude of Annoatok is 78 degrees 37 minutes. See page 412.

	28 days		400 miles
	9 days		96 miles
	24 days		300 miles
	1 day		9 miles
Total	62 days	Total	805 miles

"But the whole interval of time between February 19 and April 21 is sixty-two days, and the whole distance traveled is apparently only 805 miles. This gives a daily average distance traveled of 13 miles. If this is a correct estimate of the distance traveled it would seem to follow that he was still 581 miles from the pole on April 21.

Physical Constants Required

"Probably one of the most important conclusions arrived at in this paper is that Annoatok must be in latitude 76 degrees 30 minutes, or Dr. Cook's statements concerning sunrises, sunsets, length of long day and length of long night are each and every one of them incorrect.

"In order to properly handle the problem with facility, various physical constants are supposed to be known, and among those of general application we must know the magnitude and figure of the earth, the horizontal refraction of light, and the angular diameter of the sun. As the last two mentioned are subject to slight variations at different seasons of the year, we need give here only their mean or average values. We, therefore, have for some of these constants:

"The equatorial diameter of the earth is 7,925.6 miles, and the polar diameter is 7,889.1 miles. The average length of a degree of the meridian is 69.048 miles, while the actual length of a degree in the latitude of 85 degrees is 69.391 miles.

"The mean horizontal refraction has been found by astronomical observations to be equal to 35 minutes of a degree, and the sun's angular diameter is 32 minutes. The effect of refraction is to elevate a celestial object and make it appear higher than it really is, and since the sun's diameter is 32 minutes, while refraction is 35 minutes, it follows that the sun appears to be wholly above the horizon when it is in fact wholly below it.

"The upper limb of the sun will, therefore, appear in the horizon when the sun's centre is 51 minutes below it, and the effect of refraction and semi-diameter is to diminsh the breadth

of the frigid zones by 51 minutes and increase the breadth of the temperate zones by the same quantity. The actual polar circles are, therefore, in the latitude of 67 degrees 24 minutes, instead of 66 degrees 33 minutes.

"The refraction of light causes the sun to be visible at the Pole about three days longer than it would otherwise be in the course of a year, but the effect of twilight is to greatly prolong the light of day after the going down of the sun. It is found by observations that some portion of sunlight remains until the sun is 18 degrees below the horizon. At the North Pole the twilight begins about January 28 and increases in intensity until the sun becomes visible on March 18, and it begins again at the disappearance of the sun on September 25, and continues with lessening intensity until about November 12, when it wholly disappears. The real night of total darkness, so far as sunlight is concerned, therefore, commences about November 12 and continues until January 28, a period of light and twilight at the Pole is, therefore, nearly four times the period of darkness.

Length of Polar Seasons

"We shall now consider the time of sunrise at different places within the polar circles after the long period of winter darkness. Since the sun's upper limb becomes visible when the sun's centre is 51 minutes below the horizon, it follows that it would be visible at the Pole when the declination of the sun's centre was 51 minutes south of the equator.

"The horizon of the Pole being parallel to the equator and to all circles of latitude, the earth's rotation produces no displacement; and the stars of one-half of the universe are perpetually above the horizon, while those of the other half are perpetually below it. But this is not the case with the sun, moon and planets. These bodies are continually changing their places among the stars and passing from one hemisphere into the other.

"During the autumn and winter the sun is visible at the North Pole, being below its horizon, but in the year 1908 the sun's northern limb reached the horizon of the Pole on March 18 at 3.6 hours Washington mean time, and this was the moment of sunrise at that time and place for all longitudes. The sun would then follow the horizon to the westward, gradually rising, and at the end of 32.58 hours would be wholly above it, and the long polar day would have begun.

"The sun would then continue to circle around the pole each day of 24 hours, rising gradually higher each day until the Summer solstice, June 21, when its altitude would not very perceptibly vary for several days. It would then gradually approach the horizon each day until September 24, at 22.2 hours, when its upper or Northern limb would have disappeared below the horizon and the long polar night would equal 174 days 11.2 hours. The long polar night was therefore 16 days 7.2 hours shorter than the long polar day."

Latitude of Annoatok

This article of Stockwell's has the technique and accoutrements of a scientific treatise. He has taken us around the world, through the world, and among the planets, but in truth it is anything but a scientific document. If his purpose had been to enlighten, he could have furnished a valuable contribution on such a subject, which would have been welcomed by the thoughtful public. Nothing is more dangerous, or contributes more to an evil cause, than to have it espoused by great minds, ungoverned by integrity. The first nine-tenths of this article, which is all of it, except the last division, (under the headline "*Cook wrong either way*") is devoted to explaining how, and why he gets the latitude of Annoatok to be 76 degrees 30 minutes. Any one can see at a glance, that there must be some ulterior purpose, in consuming so much space to obtain such a simple result. Stockwell might just as well have given his views on the Westminster catechism, or the five points of Calvin, as to have written the first nine-tenths of this article so far as its having any bearing on Cook's position on the Polar Sea.

What can possibly be the object of this diverting circumlocution, attempting to fix, or *change* and make an erroneous latitude of Annoatok, which latitude is plainly shown on the maps. What difference does it make whether Annoatok is in one location or another? The Professor might just as well have started at Gloucester, Mass., Cook's original point of departure,

and established the latitude of that place, as to start at Annoatok in an alleged attempt to show that on April 11, Cook was not at the spot on the Polar Sea, that he thought he was.

Cook says on March 18, that on his arrival at Svartevoeg, he had traveled "about 400 miles" since leaving Annoatok across Ellesmere Land, in 28 days.* This is in fact the actual distance by his route, as near as it can be measured on the map. But suppose it was only 40 miles, instead of 400 that he had traveled in the 28 days? What difference would it make? He was then, on March 18 at a fixed and known location on land; at 81 degrees 20 minutes latitude, 520 miles from the North Pole, regardless of how long, or how far, he had traveled over land to get there. This was the starting point from land for the North Pole, as Cape Columbia was the starting point from land, for Peary.

Cook then says that he left land, at this fixed, well known point (Svartevoeg) on the north end of Axel Heiberg Land, on March 18, 1908, for the North Pole, 520 miles distant, that on April 11, he was at 87° 20′ and on April 21 he was at the Pole.

What more solid basis does a scientist want than that from which to apply his analysis? The dates, the distances, the point of departure, and the destination are fixed. This is all the data that would be possible for any one to give to the public; they are sufficient. But the Professor knows, anybody can know, that by taking these truthful data, every distance, every date, every location thereafter, as ascertained by Cook's observations, checks out with absolute correctness to the Pole. It is only by falsifying data that any different results can be reached. Hence this long diverting essay leading up to the fixing of the latitude of Annoatok in Greenland.

In view of the distinguished source of this information, Stockwell's data will, at the risk of tediousness, be reviewed. He takes as a starting point Annoatok as if it were in latitude 76 degrees 30 minutes north. He says that he has before him map of Cook's route as published in the *New York Herald*

*Diagrammatic Chart No. 15, page 384.

of October 1, 1909. This route is "about" 400 miles long from Annoatok, Greenland, across Ellesmere Land to Svartevoeg on Heiberg Land, thence, 520 miles more over the Polar Sea to the North Pole or 920 geographical miles for the entire distance. Now notice the inventive skill by which Prof. Stockwell stretches this distance into *1,386 miles*, wrongly making it appear that Cook is in error.

Stockwell first cunningly lays out a new and novel route of his own, running straight west from Annoatok, 20 degrees of longitude. Thence he turns north at right angles direct for the Pole. As all meridians lead to the Pole, he could have kept right on west with his imaginary route lengthening out the westward distance to any number of miles he wished, or he could have taken a more southerly course and lengthened out his meridian, but such a route as he describes has no relation whatever to the route taken by Cook, as can be seen by Chart 1. Stockwell says "this is the least possible distance to the Pole by the route followed" (*i. e.* followed by Stockwell! Cook did not go that way).

Stockwell has still another unique method of abnormally lengthening the distance. He converts these geographical miles of his own fictitious route, into statute miles, which adds practically 15 per cent. He then adds, as he says, "10 per cent more for zigzagging, and sinuosities of the various courses," neither of which additions have anything to do with the distance between the two points, or with the progress made, whichever route is considered. But he has a purpose. In this manner he figures up a distance of 1,386 miles between Annoatok and the Pole. With this fabricated route, and padded distance, as a basis, he then compares these statute miles, including the 10 per cent detours with the *geographical* miles of Cook. He does not play fair in this comparison and convert Cook's geographical miles into statute miles, nor add anything to them for detours. He then finds, by loading the dice in this way, of course, a discrepancy of 581 miles between his fictitious distances, and those of Cook. The ingenious manner in which he accomplishes this

result, and manipulates figures to get the numeral 62 (which happens significantly to be the number of days Cook consumed between Annoatok and the Pole) is well worth reading a second time.

"But" says Prof. Stockwell, "the whole interval of time between February 19 and April 21 is sixty-two days, and the whole distance traveled is apparently only 805 miles. This gives a correct estimate of the distance traveled, it would seem to follow that he was still 581 miles from the Pole on April 21."

How could a scientist in his senses write such a bungling paragraph and expect it to pass undetected? It will be noticed first, that even Stockwell's second spurious number of 805 miles, is not 1,386 miles, and it carries Cook only to April 11, Latitude 87° 20′ not April 21 and to the Pole. But Stockwell by this indirection, falsifies the date, calling it April 21, and stretches the distance to the Pole, and neither date nor distance is correct.

Now next observe, *how* he gets this erroneous date, and these erroneous miles. How he deliberately omits the dates in his table; disarranges the chronological order of the entries; and adds to the miles in a most audacious manner to accomplish this result. In order to make this clear, let us get the facts before us just as Cook wrote them and just as Stockwell had them before him when he penned the foregoing paragraph and computed the table which he has made. We shall first quote all that Cook had then written in presenting the facts and figures to which Stockwell alludes.

Cook says (fifth installment, near the beginning) under date of March 18, when he had reached Svartevoeg the end of his land journey:

"There remained a line of 520 miles of unknowable trouble to be overcome, before our goal could be reached."

This is clear enough. He makes the total distance from Annoatok to the Pole of 920 miles, (400 +520) by the route he took. (See chart 15). Again he says (in the ninth installment near the beginning) writing on *March 29*, eleven days later:

"Camping at midnight, we had only made nine miles for a day's effort."

This is clearly a record of that one day *only*.

In the tenth installment near the beginning under date of *April 8*, nine days later, he makes further remarks about his progress in these nine days. He says:

"Observations on April 8 placed the camp at latitude 86 degrees 36 minutes, longitude 94 degrees 2 minutes. In spite of what seemed like long marches, we had only advanced *ninety-six miles* in *nine days.*" This is plainly giving a record of the preceding nine days.

Later on, in the same installment, on April 11, (three days later) he says:

"The observations of April 11 gave latitude 87 degrees 20 minutes, longitude 95 degrees 19 minutes."

He then sums up the journey from land over sea to that spot by saying:

"We had dragged ourselves 300 miles *over the Polar Sea* in twenty-four days. Including delays and detours, this gave an average of nearly 13 miles daily, *on an air line in our course.* There remained an unknown line of 160 miles before our ambition could be satisfied. The same average advance which we had made *on the pack* would take us to the Pole in thirteen days.''

This is a clear statement of the situation as it existed at that point, latitude 87° 20′, on April 11. It gives the total distance traveled "*over the Polar Sea*" as 300 miles.*

The foregoing are Cook's various statements, giving all the dates and miles that Stockwell had before him, when he compiled his bogus table. To make this still clearer, I have tabulated the foregoing statements of Cook in chronological order, and have followed it with Stockwell's garbled table, that they may be checked and Stockwell's skill be more graphically displayed.

*He should have said 360, but we must use the figures 300 as Stockwell used them.

See Diagrammatic Chart No. 15 (and the Table below). Showing Cook's statements in dates and miles regarding his Progress from Annoatok, to 87° 20′, (February 19 to April 11).

Annoatok	1908 February		
	19		—28 days 400 miles.
	20		
	21		
	22		
	23		
	24		
	25		
	26		
	27		
	28		
	29		
	March		
	1		
	2		
	3		
	4		
	5		
	6		
	7		
	8		
	9		
	10		
	11		
	12		
	13		
	14		
	15		
	16		
81° 20′ Svartevoeg	17		
	18	—3 days 60 miles	—24 days 300miles
	19		
	20		
	21	—1 day 29 miles	
	22	No remarks about this interval.	
	23		
	24		
	25		
	26		
	27		
	28		
	29	—1 day 9 miles	
	30		
	31		

	April 1	
	2	
	3	—9 days 96 miles
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	
	8	
	9	
	10	—3 days 50 miles
87° 20′ Polar Sea	11	

STOCKWELL'S GARBLED TABLE EXAMINED.

Purporting to be a tabulated record of the Statements of Cook as hereinbefore quoted. (See page 420.)

	28 days	400 miles
	9 days	96 miles
	24 days	300 miles
	1 day	9 miles
Total	62 days	805 miles

The first item bracketed on the right margin of the chronological table, and the first item in Stockwell's table, "28 days, 400 miles" are the same. It is from February 19 to March 18 (the latter date is the date of entry in Cook's diary). It includes all the time consumed and all the miles covered, in traveling from Annoatok, Greenland across Ellesmere Land, to Svartevoeg, on Heiberg Land. The latter place was his point of departure from land over the ice to the Pole, 520 miles distant from Svartevoeg.

Now take the second item on the right margin of the chronological table which includes the last date, April 11, "24 days 300 miles." This entry includes in bracket *all* the days of travel over sea, from March 18 to April 11. It includes the "96" and "9" miles which Stockwell wrongly adds to it. It

also includes the "9" days and "1" day which Stockwell also wrongly adds, evidently to get the numeral he is after, "62" days.

In this skillful manner, by omitting the dates in his table, disarranging the chronological order of the entries, and inserting the 24 days, 300 miles (which if they had all been correctly entered would have exposed him) he very ingeniously gets the sham numeral of "62" days (the exact time from Annoatok to the Pole). When, in fact, Cook had only then traveled 52 days (February 19 to April 11) and stated that it would require (at his average speed to that point) "thirteen more days to reach the Pole." It actually did afterwards take 10 days.

In this way Stockwell gets the meaningless 805 miles in his table which stand opposite these purloined "62" days; which numbers include both days and miles as above explained that are added twice; he then represents in the bungling paragraph above noted, that these fictitious 805 miles, thus produced are the distance that Cook claims to have traveled from "Annoatok to the Pole," not to 87° 20′ as the record shows. He does this in face of the fact that Cook gave the latitude he was in, as 87° 20′, and said he had 160 miles more to go before reaching the Pole.*

Then Stockwell jumbles matters again by saying, "That as Cook claimed to have reached the Pole in 62 days from Annoatok, and as the distance was some *1,386 miles*, he must have been 581 miles this side of the Pole on *April 21*." But this was not April 21, it was April 11. And Cook said it would probably take 13 more days to reach the Pole. And this is science!

This is probably what Stockwell had in mind when he wrote in the first part of the article "facts are facts the world over, and cannot be discredited for the accommodation of rhetoric or vivid description. We know that if the centre of gravity is unsupported, the victim falls, whether he be Saint or Sinner, and justice is blind and pitiless as gravitation."

When one realizes the turpitude that must underlie such work, he feels like declaring that:

*See Chart 15.

"Monsters in their prime
That tare each other in their slime
Were mellow music matched with this."

A juggler could hardly be more dexterous in obtaining the figure "62" than has been this eminent scholar. Those bogus figures (62) so manipulated in Stockwell's table have no more to do in that form with the time that Cook consumed in traveling from Annoatok to the Pole, than they have with the days he consumed in preparing his fur clothing and sleds for the journey during the previous winter. Consequently, the meaningless "805 miles" derived from these juggled "62 days" can with just as much sense be compared to the miles it took Cook to travel from Gloucester, Mass., to Annoatok, as to apply them in the humbug manner adopted by Stockwell.

Stockwell does the same thing with the miles. On April 11, Cook says "We had traveled 300 miles* in 24 days" *i. e.* from March 18, the day he left land, to April 11, the day he wrote. He had, of course, before entering this stretch of 360 miles (correct number) over the sea, traveled 400 miles in 28 days, as shown, in crossing Ellesmere Land from Annoatok to Svartevoeg. These two make 760 miles. And this 760 miles was every mile he had traveled up to April 11, the day he wrote, when he was, in latitude 87° 20′, and he had been out 52 days—February 19 to April 11. Prof. Stockwell knew this; any child can understand it. He knew that any other figures or arrangement of figures were misleading and counterfeit.

These discrepancies cannot be said to be unintentional, for the Professor adopts similar tactics in his midnight sun article. In that case he also skillfully and artfully gets Cook into the wrong place, by *scientific* analysis. He takes "*the latitude of Annoatok*" in that case as his basis upon which to form conclusions the same as he does in this later case. But, for that purpose he said, that "Annoatok is situated in latitude 78 degrees 37 minutes north." He now says, for the latter purpose, that it is 76 degrees 30 minutes north. Under his first hypothe-

*Should be 360 miles.

sis Annoatok would, therefore, be 11 degrees and 23 minutes or 790 miles from the North Pole. (He now makes it 937 miles). Why all this faulty manipulation to obtain the "latitude of Annoatok" when the maps have it correctly, 78° 37′? It is wholly immaterial.

We have seen already what an expert Prof. Stockwell is in figures, when he gets right down to scientific work. Probably no one else will review Stockwell's essay to see if he is correct in figuring from his selected data, in placing Annoatok erroneously in latitude 76° 30′. Because the question arises—what of it? Was not Annoatok in the same latitude, when used as datum in figuring on the "midnight sun" on April 7,as it is in this instance only 4 days later, or April 11? Why 76° 30′ now, and 78° 37′ then? Whichever latitude was used as datum in one case, should be used in the other. But in either case this latitude is immaterial. Its use only aids in creating confusion. *Look at it another way.*

Prof. Stockwell places himself in a very ludicrous position. He makes Cook's travels up to April 11 in his table as 805 miles. This is 45 more than Cook claims (760). If, therefore, we should accept Stockwell's fanciful figures on this point as true, and then correct all his other errors, it would locate Cook on April 21 (the day he says he reached the Pole) 45 miles beyond the Pole; instead of 281 short, and as all directions are south from the Pole, he would have *traveled* to the Pole and have been back to the same latitude again, 87° 20′, or within 115 miles of it. If we should use Stockwell's figures in another paragraph, 1,386 miles, he would have been back to Svartevoeg.

Prof. Stockwell is surely leading us into the higher mathematics. Occupying more time to refute other matters in the Professor's article will not be warranted as it is already sufficiently discredited, and is unworthy of further consideration. The facts and fallacies may be summarized in a paragraph.

On April 11 Cook was at 87° 20′. He had traveled 28 days over land from Annoatok to Svartevoeg or to 81° 20′, and then 24 more days over sea, from Svartevoeg to 87° 20′. The

total time, therefore, over land and over sea was 52 days. It was not 62. The 24 days over sea was 24. It was not 24 plus 9 plus 1, because the 9 and 1 are included in the 24. It was April 11 not April 21. It was at 87° 20′, not at 90° 00′, the Pole. He was just where he thought he was, just where he knew he was, just where he said he was, at 87° 20′. He was not 581 miles out of the way, nor any fraction of 581 miles out of the way. He was not 805 miles from Annoatok, but 760. It was not 1,386 to the Pole, but 920. Stockwell's article was published to show to the world that somebody is a falsifier. Who is it? I have not had the pleasure of reading the Professor's book on the Nebular Hypothesis. It must be good for we can see that he is strong in hypothesis. If the Professor could get a patent on his invention, he would have a handy formula for disproving the location of any spot on the globe or any planet in the universe.

There is not one syllable in George Kennan's two articles in the *Outlook* that convicts Cook of any wrong. There is not one syllable in Prof. Stockwell's two articles that convicts Cook of any wrong. The integrity of Cook's narrative emerges from this ordeal untouched. The onslaught strengthens it. Stockwell evidently was engaged by some one to write these articles. Had he been loyal to science, he would have investigated and analyzed Cook's observations and statements and reported his findings. Had he done this, he would, almost instantly, have discovered the mistakes in figures in Cook's narrative, and he could have made such comments and criticisms as his talents dictated. But it is quite evident that he thought there were no mistakes and instead of searching for them, he concluded to invent them. The consequence is that instead of convicting Cook, he has *convicted Stockwell*!

CHAPTER V

THE METROPOLITAN—KARL DECKER'S TIRADE

I HAVE now reviewed all the articles that have been published that have come to my attention, that make any attempt at argument or reasoning to show that Cook did not reach the North Pole. Thousands of pages of scurrilous screeds have appeared giving vent to the various writer's opinions and prejudices, but none that I have seen have made any attempt to offer actual proofs or give valid reasons indicating that Cook did not reach the North Pole.

It may perhaps be well before concluding this section of my review to allude to one of the most notable of these personal tirades against Cook. I allude to an article that appeared in the *Metropolitan* of January 1913 over the signature of Karl Decker. I referred to this article among others without identifying it, on the second page of the *Foreword* as one of the effusions that I would pass unnoticed. I have since concluded to briefly refer to it. The article is entitled *Dr. Frederick A. Cook—Faker*. The title is printed in large letters across the outside front cover. The tone, the tenor, the bitterness of this rancorous diatribe, makes it appear to me very like the ravings of a paranoiac. Scarcely a paragraph is exempt from this appearance.

The article reviews the Mt. McKinley matter, the midnight sun, the impossibility of getting latitude down to minutes, to Cook's inadequate food supply, to the Loose and Dunkle episode, to the Eskimo testimony, and other matters. The writer obviously had before him as his texts, the false conclusions of other writers.

He evidently exercised no thought himself, but simply accepted these false premises and applied his epithets thereto. I have already reviewed as many of the subjects to which he refers as is pertinent to the purposes of this work. I can see no useful purpose in reviewing in much detail this intemperate screed. The writer is evidently a trained reportorial artist. He evidently desired to add something to the subjects which he reviews which did not occur to the minds of either Stockwell, Kennan or the others who preceded and furnished him with these opinions. I will, therefore, hastily call attention to a few paragraphs that indicate in a measure the general drift of them all.

Those which I shall consider do not disclose the tenor of the article itself, but they give some slight idea of its reckless, abandoned nature, which is all I care to show. On page 428 appears the following paragraph, referring to Cook's audacious presumption in assuming to be able to get his longitude as far north as 89° 46′ 6″. It reads:

"Cook will have to give a convincing explanation of that marvelous feat in taking observations. Peary and Shackleton ceased giving longitude several degrees from the Poles they were approaching, because it became apparent that the finest instruments ever made, stationed in a permanent observatory would not give longitude in degrees, much less in minutes near the Poles."

This, of course, is reckless abandon. But as it is so easily proven false, it is in the circumstances astounding. Shackleton not only did not cease to give "longitude several degrees from the Pole," but he continued to give them as far south as he went, and finally records that he went to Latitude 88° 23′ Longitude 162° east.* Peary did not "*cease*" and could not very well cease to give longitude because he did not *begin* to give them until (so his story reads) he had reached the North Pole, or within 3 miles of it. This exactly reverses Decker's reckless assertion.

*Page 343, Heart of the Antarctic.

The last paragraph in the same column in Decker's article continuing on this subject of observations reads as follows:—

"This is important in showing that Cook did not reach the North Pole, and that he did not get north of latitude 85° when he would have learned by actual experience the impossibility of calculating longitude in high latitudes. That he gives his ongitude in minutes at latitude 89° 46′ 5″ a short distance from he Pole, is in itself all the proof one needs that his whole story s a fake."

This paragraph takes Stockwell's false position as its cue. If Decker's assertion is truth, it certainly would by its very nature condemn all that Cook has written. But suppose Decker's assertion is itself untrue that his premises are false, then by his own logic, it must show that his (Decker's) assertion is in itself all the proof one needs that his whole story is false. It has been conclusively shown by abundant evidence in Chapter IV that there is not and cannot be a word of truth in this allegation of Decker's.*

One would have supposed that this skillful writer would at least have had the foresight to have seen that he was proving too much. These learned conclusions of Decker's if they were true would not only prove Cook to be a "faker," as he asserts, but they would also prove his friend Peary to be a falsifier; and they unfortunately would also put Scott and Amundsen in the same class; for they all give longitudes of the nearest point they reached to either the South or North Pole, and they all, including Peary, give them not only in degrees, but astonishing as it may appear from Decker's reckless statement, in *minutes* and *seconds*.

If Decker had imparted some of his astounding wisdom to Peary, Tittman, Mitchell, and Duval when they were fabricating their plotting of Peary's route and offering it in their testimony at Washington, perhaps they would not have given

*Mr. W. J. Armbruster answered Decker's article in the mirror (St. Louis) at the time it appeared in the Metropolitan and he conclusively showed that a person could stand at the very pin point of the North Pole, and lay out all the meridians of longitude with 12 inches and less of the Pole.

Peary's latitude* at 89° 55′ 23″ Longitude 137 west, and perhaps Peary would have changed the wording in his book† and not have said on April 7 that his observations showed that he was then on the Behring Strait meridian (170°) west 4 or 5 miles from the Pole.

All of Decker's pretensions to argument are of a similar abandoned nature to these to which I have referred. I will, however, mostly to amuse, because it is evidently given only to prejudice the reader, refer to a picture that appears on page 435 entitled "An Object Lesson in *Polar Equipment.*" The picture shows Cook's sledge above two of Peary's sledges. Under the picture is this description.

"The topmost of these three sledges is the one on which Cook claims to have traveled one thousand miles to and from the Pole. The middle one is an every day Arctic sledge, and the lowest one is the sledge christened "Morris K. Jessup" on which Peary made his final dash to the Pole. Contrast the flimsy character of Cook's sledge with the solid, clipper built sledge of Peary's."

As I have already gone over the merits of these various sledges in Chapter IV, I will simply say that I allude to this picture only to show the general nature and purport of the article itself. Anyone who wishes to know about these "solid, clipper built sledges" should read Borup's book *A Tenderfoot with Peary.*

This article is of the same nature and character (only more vicious and contemptible) as are all the articles that I have seen that attempt to discredit Cook.

The alleged Eskimo testimony of Peary, the Stockwell, Kennan and Decker articles, are the only articles that I know of that make any pretension of reasoning. They are the very best (in argument) that have been written, if there can be such a thing as best, among the wholly bad.

Bearing false witness is the basest of crimes. Othello and Roderigo were indeed murderers, but with some redeeming

*Page 136 Testimony at Washington.

†Page 290 *North Pole.*

qualities. But the memory of Iago guiltless of blood, yet a bearer of false tales is abhorrent. We may forget perhaps the names of the actual participants in the crucifixion of Jesus; but Judas, who knew him to be innocent, yet betrayed him, is remembered as the most execrated of mankind.

"Art, Thou hast many infamies
But not an infamy like this."

So strong is truth, that cunning, falsehood and trickery cannot stand against an acknowledged fact. Nature has ordained rightfully, that were all the literature of civilization subsidized to espouse an unholy cause; and were it backed by the wealth and power of all the world; yet one solitary, naked fact, established by the accepted rules of evidence, will stand against them all.

CHAPTER VI

CONGRESSMAN HELGESEN'S SPEECH

ONE more critic of Dr. Cook's claim has recently appeared above the horizon, and perhaps the most important. Cooks' case cannot be completely presented if I omit a review of this critic. I delay the publication of this work to include this chapter.

"DR. COOK and the NORTH POLE."

Under the above heading in the Congressional Record of December 21, 1916, page 702 appears the

"Extension of Remarks
of
Hon. Henry T. Helgesen
of
North Dakota

In the House of Representatives
Monday, September 4, 1916."

These remarks purport to be an analysis of Dr. Cook's writings. They extend over 28½ of the broad pages of the Congressional Record and include more than 40 criticisms of different statements made by Dr. Cook. These "remarks" therefore constitute, in volume, a fair sized book. They should, if convenient, be first read by every one who may care to read this chapter, because I have not space remaining to review all the items of criticism in such a volume. But it is important that a student of the problem should read them all.

This speech, (I call it a speech, though never spoken) bears abundant evidence of the intelligent and painstaking research made by this distinguished Congressman from North Dakota. He has evidently studied, scanned and scrutinized, with close attention, probably every sentence and every word that Cook has written in recent years, in a zealous endeavor to bring to light every feature which appears in Helgesen's construction to be inimical to the truthfulness of Cook's utterances.

He has also compared and checked Dr. Cook's statements with the writings of others with remarkable comprehensiveness. I therefore must conclude that if it be possible to find anything in Cook's writings that is evidence that he did not go to the Pole that Mr. Helgesen has found it. On the contrary, if Helgesen has failed to find any evidence, it would seem almost useless for any person of ordinary ability to attempt it.

Mr. Helgesen approaches the subject on a different angle from any of the other critics whom I have mentioned. He does not invent nor manufacture his data wholesale. He selects them mainly from Cook's book *My attainment of the Pole.* But I think his conclusions from his premises will bear investigation.

The object of Mr. Helgesen's speech is to discredit the veracity and the integrity of Dr. Cook, establish the unreliability of his narratives, and by this method so smirch his reputation for truthfulness and accuracy that his claim of the discovery of the North Pole will not be *believed.*

He prefaces his remarks by certifying to his own honesty and integrity of purpose, and to the sincerity and purity of his motives, in the following manner on page 703 columns 1 and 2 of the Congressional Record of December 21, 1916. (When ever I refer to this speech by page hereafter, it will mean from this issue of the Record).

"I have contended and still contend that every American is entitled to a fair trial before judgment is rendered. Even a criminal, caught in the act of committing a crime, is given a trial before sentence is passed upon him. My contention in this respect has caused a general belief that I am, and have been, a champion of Dr. Cook's claim to the discovery of the

North Pole. I have repeatedly stated that I am not a defender of Cook's claims, but I am a champion of fair play, and even if Cook is a fraud he is still entitled to a hearing."

"I have defended Cook only against unfounded charges, for I firmly believe that no man was ever more ill-treated and maligned than Dr. Cook has been by his opponents in the polar controversy; however, such defense as I have made has been only a fight for American justice."

* * * * * * * * *

"I approached this task with an unbiased, unprejudiced mental attitude, and my conclusions are not favorable to Dr. Cook's claims."

* * * * * * * * *

"In this analysis I ask only pertinent questions, that are answered in the pages of Cook's own book, and I take no unfair advantage of self-evident typographical errors to discredit him on statements which would otherwise be acceptable."

"In the course I have pursued I am actuated only by a desire for truth and accuracy."

This is surely a lofty minded, altruistic, commendable position to assume.

For simplicity and convenience, I will call this Mr. Helgesen's position No. 1. I do this because to my mind, he presents himself to his readers in a dual character; and further because I think the readers of this chapter may be able to judge for themselves as to the fidelity and steadiness of purpose with which Mr. Helgesen upholds in his criticisms, the banner which represents and symbolizes this position No. 1.

Mr. Helgesen's previous endeavors in Congress as is indicated in this quotation have naturally caused this "general belief" (whether properly or not) and have classed him as among the friends of Dr. Cook.

I will therefore quote what he says on page 703 column 1:

"We all remember that almost immediately after Cook's eturn from the North, when public sentiment both for and against him ran high, he suddenly disappeared for about a year.

At that time the charge was made by his opponents that he went away to avoid a further investigation into his claims. In 1915, when matters looked as though a hearing might be granted him, he decided on an eight months' tour around the world, though I happen to know that those persons who had his interests at heart remonstrated with him against such a course. The present year, on the more or less plausible excuse of a Chautauqua lecture tour, he went to the West, at a time when, with a little extra effort on his part, his friends hoped to secure for him the hearing which he has so long professed to desire. These actions may possibly be reasonably explained, nevertheless they lend color to the theory that Cook does not desire a bona fide hearing and investigation."

This quotation appears to be an alien intrusion (under the title given to the speech) and not pertinent to the subject under consideration and immaterial. It has no bearing that I can see on the issue involved. It seems to be introduced for no other purpose than to show the ingratitude of Dr. Cook for the services of his friends in his behalf. Possibly Mr. Helgesen and others have just cause to be offended with Dr. Cook in consequence of this ingratitude, or for other reasons. Anyway this quotation is Mr. Helgesen's comment on the subject and I assume it to indicate a provocation for his present attitude. I base this assumption on, and because of the fact that it checks and coincides perfectly with every complaint in the 28½ pages of this speech. Therefore, for convenience in reference, I will call this second expression an indication of his position No. 2.

Position No. 2 is adhered to throughout the speech. Position No. 1 is abandoned after its recital. Its flag is immediately hauled down, and the black flag of position No. 2, with its skull and crossbones spread across its folds, is run to the mast head, to remain undisturbed to the end of the last sentence of the speech.

I will now outline my own position that there may be no misconception.

In my attempt to ascertain the truth or falsity of Peary's claim to the discovery of the North Pole, I took the position, and unequivocally, as shown on pages 360 and 361,

that even though Peary should be known to be the veriest of falsifiers; this known truth (except as collateral or as corroborative to other positive evidence) should have no influence or bearing whatever, in an attempt to ascertain the truth as to whether or not he reached the Pole. I have, on other pages, cited several instances to prove the soundness of this position and to show that it is grounded on correct and just principles.

On pages 389 and 390 I referred to the cases of John Cabot, Walter Wellman and Peary. In regard to Peary I said:

"It seems to be proven that Peary did not go to the Pole. He did not go to 87° 6′ or discover Crocker Land, or Cape Thos. Hubbard, or Cape Jessup, or Peary Channel. If these be untruths, they may smirch Peary's reputation, but they cannot annul other truths."

"The fact is eternal that Peary's achievements in former years, especially in northern Greenland, in daring and brilliance are unexceeded in Arctic history."

When later I decided to review Peary's claim to 87° 6′ in 1906, I re-emphasized this position in the following language on page 258.

"It is not my purpose to attempt to expose the fallacy of the claim to 87° 6′ and then apply the rule 'false in one, false in all,' because the rule is not *applicable to analysis*. The North Pole claim should rest on its own merits."

Mr. Helgesen, when discussing principles, appears to hold similar views. On page 702, column 1, before quoted, he says:

"Even a criminal, caught in the act of committing a crime is given a trial before sentence is passed upon him."

A known criminal, therefore, of a multitude of crimes, charged with a specific crime, must be acquitted if he be found innocent of that specific crime. This is not condoning crime. It is upholding justice. Therefore, if Mr. Helgesen should prove Cook to be an inaccurate, unreliable narrator who contradicts himself repeatedly, such proof should have no bearing whatever by itself alone, considered as to the truth or falsity of his claim of discovery of the Pole. The proof must show the falsity of the *specific* claim, otherwise the truth remains unknown. This is my position in regard to Peary. It is my

position in regard to Cook, and it will be my position in regard to Mr. Helgesen.

Mr. Helgesen may avenge himself for the ingratitude of Cook by exposing him if he can to the world as an untruthful and unreliable narrator of events if he so chooses. But he cannot evolve the truth or falsity of Cook's claim of the discovery of the Pole by this method alone. He certainly cannot do so and be true to position No. 1. Such a course would only make Mr. Helgesen appear guilty of the very things he charges against Dr. Cook. He cannot proceed in this manner under the civilized code of morals and escape the charge of hypocrisy; a baser moral crime than inaccuracy or untruthfulness.

I refer to Mr. Helgesen's assumption of this dual character in advance, although to be consistent I must admit that the motives or personal reasons one may have for the stand he takes, makes little difference in the force of his argument. Even if it be revenge, vindictiveness, or spitefulness that prompts him to action, it is (after all has been said) only the character of his evidence, the soundness of his argument that counts, and which must be weighed regardless of the prompting motive behind.

Mr. Helgesen concludes from the contradictory nature of many of Cook's statements (as Mr. Helgesen construes them) that they *prove* Cook did not go to the Pole.

He says (on page 722) after a series of comments on the variation of the compass that:

"This fact, in conjunction with Cook's doctored latitude is *sufficient proof* that he never attained the 'Boreal center' as he calls the geographic point known as the North Pole."

This "sufficient proof" about the variation will be shown to be no proof even as to the variation.

His last sentence in the speech is the inquiry:

"Is it possible for any one who gives this matter any thought or study at all, to *believe* that Dr. Cook ever attained or *remotely approached* the North Pole?"

Having indicated my own theories and purposes and the apparent theories, purposes and conclusions of Mr. Helgesen,

I will further say, that the fact is, that he proceeds with his criticisms and continues them to the end, on the erroneous theory that "False in one is false in all." Such a theory is a false theory. It does not apply to any sane person. His purpose throughout is to show the inaccuracy and unreliability of Cook's writings in every locality where he travels in the North from 1907 to 1909. I must antagonize this procedure from the start, otherwise it will be useless to go further.

Let us get our bearings at once. To prove that Cook writes inaccurately has no more bearing on the question of his claim to the discovery of the Pole than it would be to prove that he gambles, dissipates or mistreats his family. All these may be proper criticisms enough in the proper place; but proof of the falsity of the master claim, the claim of the discovery, must be first shown before such matters can be used in this argument. Helgesen does not show this falsity to be proven anywhere in his speech.

The only purpose I have in making this review is to prove my contention as to his purpose, his methods of accomplishing that purpose, and to show that he does not furnish a scrap of evidence to prove that Cook did not reach the Pole, and to show these facts by quoting a sufficient number of his criticisms for the purpose. I will not be diverted from this plain issue to consider a false issue set up by Mr. Helgesen of Cook's inaccuracy, untruthfulness or his morals, at least only so far as it appears necessary to accomplish the purpose I have named. I want to know and show my readers whether Mr. Helgesen furnishes evidence that proves that Cook did not reach the Pole. That is the only issue I care to meet.

I will, before proceeding with this review, take the positive stand, which I hope, as far as I go, to prove that in the 28½ pages of Mr. Helgesen's speech he does not refer to a sentence in Cook's writings that is proof to sustain his conclusion that Cook did not attain the Pole; or a sentence that is *inconsistent* with Cook's attainment of the Pole; or a sentence that is even shown to be written for the purpose of deceiving anyone to

believe that he reached the Pole. On the other hand, there will be no disguising the fact that the entire speech is unmistakably a vengeful attack on the personal integrity of Dr. Cook for the personal gratification of Mr. Helgesen, using his exalted position and his privileges in that position to diseminate his influence over the world.

With this statement I might, with propriety, terminate this review and await events; for if my conclusions, as stated, are correct, there is nothing pertinent to review. But with equal propriety I may take up some of the most salient features of this speech for the purpose of emphasizing the nature of the criticisms and the correctness of the stand I take.

I do not know that Cook reached the Pole. I would like to know. It is one of the principal objects of my researches to know. Mr. Helgesen does not know. He cannot know. Nobody except Dr. Cook and perhaps his two Eskimos do know. And nobody can ever know until some one else goes there, unless some evidence can be found in Cook's narratives that will of itself prove the contention against him.

Peary convicts himself many times by his own hand. But no one to this hour, as far as I can read, has ever been able to point to a sentence in any of Cook's writings that bears the least semblance of proof that he did not reach the Pole.

Mr. Helgesen, on page 703, column 2, speaking of Cook, makes the remark that

"He" (Cook) "truly says (p. 4)" (quoting from Cook's "My Attainment of the Pole")

"Few men in all history, I am inclined to believe, have ever been made the subject of such vicious attacks, of such malevolent assailing of character, of such a series of perjured and forged charges, of such a wide-spread and relentless press persecution as I!"

Then says Mr. Helgesen:

"Feeling the force and the truth of this assertion, I have hesitated to add anything to the load of criticism that has been heaped upon a man who has been treated with great injustice. However, the ends of justice are not served by evading the

truth, and an *impersonal* analysis of Cook's narrative cannot injure an honest man."

This is supplemental to the certificate that establishes position No. 1. But I recall not one expression in this long speech that attests the sincerity of this sentiment, or that sustains his claim to "impersonal analysis."

I will now proceed in a necessarily brief, cursory review of some of Mr. Helgesen's criticisms.

He commences them, at the outset of Cook's voyage, starting at Gloucester, Mass., from which port Cook took his departure for the North on July 3, 1907 in the yacht *John R. Bradley.*

On page 704, column 1, he places in parallel columns the descriptions of events and preparations at Gloucester, as made by Dr. Cook in his writings, and as made by Mr. Bradley in an article in the *Independent* for September 16, 1909.

I see no essential or unnatural difference in the two descriptions. But let us, at the start, face this matter squarely and assume that the imaginary difference *does* exist, which Mr. Helgesen strains so hard to show. Is it proof? Is it even evidence that Cook did not start on his voyage from Gloucester? Or start in the yacht *John R. Bradley*? Or on the definite date mentioned by Cook of "July 3, 1907," or on the indefinite date "In the spring of 1907" mentioned by Bradley? If it is not proof of these facts, is it not far-fetched evidence to prove that Cook *did not go* to the North Pole a year after? If it is not evidence on this latter point, then what is the purpose of its introduction under the title of this speech? Can such a procedure be called "impersonal analysis actuated only by a desire for truth and accuracy" of a claim of the discovery of the North Pole? I dwell this much at the beginning of this review, over this trivial matter, because this criticism is a fair representative of the character of *every criticism* made by Mr. Helgesen in the entire speech of 28½ pages, with few exceptions which will be noticed. Yet this puerile criticism occupies, including Mr. Helgesen's comments upon it, nearly one whole

page of the Congressional Record. All of Mr. Helgesen's criticisms are as unimportant, as immaterial as evidence, as frivolous, trivial and as silly as this one to which I have referred. It seems inconceivable that a Congressman of distinction can think it his duty to the public to promulgate such thoughts.

Another comparison of writings is made, also in parallel columns, of the doings and events at the next port, Annoatok, Greenland, where Cook and Rudolf Francke spent a winter preparing for the trip to the Pole. All of the criticisms applying to this winter's sojourn are too flimsy, or I may properly say too nonsensical even to be considered here. It is not until Cook starts on his journey across Ellesmere Land that a criticism is made that is important enough to notice.

Francke has recently written a book in the German language, which in English translation is entitled "*A German's Experiences in the Far North.*" I do not know that any English translation of the book is published. Helgesen compares some of Francke's descriptions of events at Annoatok with those of Cook, and in every instance where Helgesen can construe a difference, he concludes that Cook is wrong, without the slightest attempt to furnish evidence to sustain either his construction or his conclusion.

For instance, on page 706, Cook is quoted as saying that the sun rose, and that he started on his long journey on February 19, 1908. Francke (if interpreted, translated and quoted correctly) in his description of the event, indicates indirectly but quite clearly in two places that the sun rose on February 26, 1908. In consequence of this apparent discrepancy in dates, Helgesen shows up Cook's utter unreliability as a narrator, by being "*six days in error*" at the very start of his journey. Not a scrap of collateral evidence is offered to show that Cook is the one in error. It being about the sun, it is a matter easily proven if untrue, provided one felt honor bound to make good his insinuations. But Helgesen evidently felt a little shame over this exhibit, for he soon abandons the use of it in his calculations and says (page 706):

"At present, in order to follow Cook's narrative closely, we shall adopt *the date he gives, February 19, 1908.*"

It is known, or may be known, that the sun did rise at Annoatok on February 19, 1908, the date that Cook says it did. I have shown on another page that Prof. Stockwell says that the sun rose at that place on that date, "February 19." Consequently, Francke, if translated and quoted correctly, is the one in error.

Is this system of "impersonal analysis" based on the self-assumed position No. 1? Or is it the *corsair* position No. 2?

Helgesen has dug deep into Cook's doings and writings, but he has never exposed Cook as having resorted to tricks of this character to injure anyone.

If this is not actually manufacturing false evidence, it is equally discreditable in morals; and when resorted to by one who sets up his standard as outlined by himself in position No. 1, who professes that he is "actuated only by a desire for truth and accuracy," it descends to the level of hypocrisy as I view it. There might be some excuse or extenuation if Helgesen was in Cook's place, and was doing this in desperation to protect himself from such unrighteous assaults; but when the only motive is to convict one, who for all he knows is innocent, the tactics to say the least are reprehensible. If Helgesen is guilty of inaccuracy and wilfulness in construing evidence in this instance, then, according to his own rule of "false in one, false in all" he is self-condemned in *all that he may hereafter say as unbelievable.*

He next makes great ado over the fact that Cook in choosing his companions for the dash on the Polar Sea selected two young Eskimos instead of selecting Francke as one of those companions. He compares Cook's action with that of Peary in his treatment of Bartlett. I will review this contention of Mr. Helgesen at some length because he harps on it seven different times in the course of his speech. He apparently exhausts his indignation in one attack, then takes up a different subject while gathering strength for another assault. Then he comes back to the sub-

ject again with renewed vigor. He does this seven times; sometimes twice on a page as shown on pages 702, 705, 706, 707, 712 and 724.

As a matter of opinion, I think Helgesen is wrong throughout his contention, and that Cook is right. Cook's position is not comparable with that of Peary in this matter. Peary's motive is acknowledged. Cook only had two Eskimo companions, each inured to the climate and experienced in sledging with Eskimo dogs. He gives clearly his reasons for this selection, after his experience with them of a month crossing Ellesmere Land, and they are sound. Francke may have been disappointed; may have had hopes that he would have been selected as one of the party. Helgesen may not understand that in Cook's situation, discipline is an essential of organization. Without it all might be lost. A leader of men does not often confide all his plans, nor all his thoughts to his subordinates. Cook may have had the highest respect for the abilities of Francke in many duties, but after a ten days' trial at sledging, he may have thought he did not measure up to his ideal of what he needed on the Polar Sea, but still thought he was invaluable elsewhere, as he evidently considered him.

Amundsen spent a winter in the hut with his men and all of them, no doubt, had hopes of being selected in the spring for the South Polar dash. But in the end, all were disappointed, except the few that he did finally select. Johansen, the companion of Nansen on the Polar Sea, was one of the disappointed. He suicided later. It is thought by some that he brooded too much after the success and the discovery, feeling that his life work was a failure because, seemingly to him, Amundsen ignored him.

More can be said along this line. Before Amundsen organized his expedition in Norway, Scott was already en route to the South Pole with his expedition. It is perhaps improbable that Amundsen could have secured the necessary funds for his expedition, had he made known that they were intended to be

used in an expedition to the South Pole in competition with Scott.

He organized his expedition and engaged his crew, as I read his book, for a trip to the NORTH POLE, *via* Behring Strait. After he had succeeded by his ruse, and had left port, and all danger of thwarting his purpose was past, he stopped at the Madeiras. For the first time he told his men frankly of his purpose, asking only those who were then willing to continue on the voyage for the SOUTH POLE to remain. The rest, or those the more disappointed, could return to their homes. It may have been that many, or all, were somewhat disappointed. Amundsen frankly tells it all in his book *South Pole.* Sometimes strategems are stepping stones to glory.

Cook did the wise thing in my opinion and perhaps succeeded in his venture in consequence of his wisdom. It appears to me from Helgesen's criticisms that he knows but little about handling men in peculiar situations and that his criticisms are unfair and unjust. Anyway it has nothing to do with the subject supposed to be under consideration. But this is Helgesen's "impersonal" way of proving, by such instances as this, that Cook did not attain the Pole. Such importance does he ascribe to it that he gives more attention to it than to any other criticism.

I must now jump to the Polar Sea and get to subjects, if possible, more worth considering.

Helgesen criticises Cook for not getting, or publishing the variation of his compass. I cannot consistently complain of this for I too have criticised him for the same thing. But I contend that I have been impersonal, fair and just with only one object in view, *viz.*, to unearth, or unfold, to my readers, the truth.

Helgesen unjustly compares Cook's unique position on the 97th meridian (which is practically the magnetic meridian) with Peary's position on the 70th meridian. I need not repeat my observations on this subject which appear on other pages. I only wish to review the unjust contention of Mr. Helgesen.

On page 713 he quotes excerpts from a letter from J. S. Hoogewerff, U. S. Navy, *omitting a part of the letter;* which excerpts as quoted are as follows:

"Hon H. T. Helgesen:
Dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of the 14th instant inquiring about magnetic variations, variation changes with change of position of the observer in either latitude or longitude.

"Neither the North nor the South magnetic poles are coincident with the geometric poles of the earth. (There are presumably two magnetic south poles.)"

"Observations in numerous parts of the world have established the values of the variation and these have been plotted in curves. They appear, with other data, on the Pilot Chart issued by the Hydrographic Office, Navy Department."

"The curves of variation on the Pilot Chart are not extended into extreme polar regions for the reason that there have been no observations sufficient to permit a definite charting of the lines.. The traveler from Cape Columbia to the North Pole might expect to find large changes in variation."

"J. S. HOOGEWERFF,
Captain, United States Navy, Superintendent."

The last sentence obviously answers the inquiry made, which inquiry, however, is not given, but its nature may be implied from the answer. The letter as published is made sufficiently incomplete to offer Mr. Helgesen an opportunity (if he wishes to embrace it) to construe the excerpts to his liking. I will, by way of parenthesis indulge in a gratuitous speculation on this letter. All except the two last paragraphs might have been omitted. The asterisks show that something *is* omitted. The probable fluctuations of the variation on the 96th or 97th meridians, which is the only subject being considered, are *not* mentioned. But the immaterial probabilities of fluctuation on the 70th meridian are published. The circumstances are entirely different on the 97th meridian, as I have shown on other pages, the reply therefore is foreign to the question involved. What may we infer from this system of evidence? *Perhaps* Captain Hoogewerff was asked

the question as to "what might be expected as to the fluctuation of the variation on the *97th meridian*" and answered it somewhat as I will answer it, and *that his reply is the part suppressed*!

Captain Hoogewerff says, "The traveler from *Cape Columbia* to the North Pole might expect to find large changes in variation." *Which of course is true, but it is saying nothing about what a traveler from Svartevoeg to the North Pole might expect on the 96th or 97th meridians.*

Nobody knows, as Captain Hoogewerff indicates, whether there is fluctuation in the variation *itself* on the Polar Sea on either of those longitudes mentioned, even on the 70th far north.

It is strictly true that compass variation fluctuates. That the isogonic lines in some parts of the world are almost as crooked as a ram's horn; but it is equally true that in other parts and for many hundreds of miles in length they are nearly straight and the variation quite constant.

Fluctuations in the variation of the compass are not so sudden nor so pronounced as Mr. Helgesen would seem to infer. If they were, a mariner's compass would be of little worth.

I think it would be a safe prediction to say, and I think possibly Captain Hoogewerff might say it, if he did not already say it, that "if one wished to travel north from Svartevoeg to the Pole on the magnetic meridian, to be forty days en route, he would probably find in that 40 days that the variation of his compass would be practically constant all the way, and probably at 180 degrees."

He would not know, nobody knows. One could expect almost anything on an uncharted and unknown sea.

But even Dr. Cook is entitled to fairness. Cook was traveling practically on the 96th meridian which is the magnetic meridian. For purposes of illustration we will assume that he was all the time exactly on that meridian, heading north with 180 degrees variation in his compass, *i. e.* his compass card which read north was pointing south because he was on the meridian that connects the two poles. Cook took frequent

observations for longitude. Let us then suppose that he traveled by his compass directly north towards the geographic pole from one known position of longitude to the next known position of longitude. Suppose that the second position placed him exactly on the same longitude as did the first, would he not then know (if there were no drift) that his variation was constant between those points? Or if the last position placed him to the east or to the west of the 96th meridian a certain number of miles, could he not approximately, if not accurately, compute his variation, in combination with his drift, and know how much variation to allow for the next stretch between observations, and so on to the geographic pole?

Cook was in a unique and peculiar locality traveling practically on the magnetic meridian. No man before him, or since, has had like experience. It is unfair and unjust to condemn a person in such circumstances without being sure of the premises, and Helgesen is as wide of the mark as is the distance between the North and the South geographic Poles.

"Yet this fact" (?) says Helgesen on page 722"in conjunction with Cook's doctored latitude, *is sufficient proof that he never attained the Pole.*"

But this "doctored latitude" was on April 8, *200 miles from the North Pole*, on the broad Polar Sea, where it was comparatively immaterial whether he "doctored" it or not, or even whether he took the observations or not.

This statement of Helgesen reaches the limit of audacity. It is inconceivable that it will deceive anybody not wishing to be deceived. Its absurdity is so apparent that it is not undignified to characterize it as arrant nonsense.

Helgesen commencing on page 715 devotes several pages in an attempt to discredit the discovery of Bradley Land and Cook's Glacial Island. He thinks Cook may have doctored up the facts gleaned from Peary's description of his trip in 1906 and from other sources which he names. Helgesen seldom ventures to offer proof of any character. He relies on inference and his skill at comment; but in this one instance, he risks it.

I quote from page 722:

"As the drift of the ice in *that part of the world* had been proven by previous explorers—Nansen, Cagni, and '*So Forth.*" This indicates that Helgesen for once had offered genuine proof. I do not know to whom he refers as "SO FORTH," but if he is relying upon records, "So forth" must be none other than Peary; because none other but Peary (and his companions) ever claimed to have witnessed the current that far north "In that part of the world." (In truth neither Peary nor any other person ever went that far north in that locality.) So much for the proof furnished by "So forth."

Now as to Nansen and Cagni. Neither of these explorers were ever on the Polar Sea "in that part of the world" and could not have proven anything on the subject. The Polar Sea sledge travels of both of them were on the opposite side of the globe. Nearly the *whole world* in that latitude was between the localities. Such is the unreliability of the proof on which Helgesen attempts to establish the unreliability of Cook, and such is the hazard of venturing on proof. "*Conclusions*" are safer.

When Helgesen has followed Cook's narrative to the Pole, the vital (or fatal) spot; the spot he is endeavoring to prove (by dexterously manipulating words) was never visited by Cook, his courage seems to leave him. Here is the spot where Cook must show his hand. He must attempt to prove by the sun that he was there. It was vital to his claim that he do this truly, even though it be inconclusive proof. It would be fatal to do it falsely.

Cook says he took seven observations of the sun. Helgesen glibly overhauled with his usual perspicacity Cook's observations April 8 and 14 en route north where their accuracy was comparatively immaterial, because Helgesen obviously only wished to show Cook's carelessness wherever he could find it. It is the only working capital he seems to have.

But when he gets to the Pole where accuracy regarding the sun is essential, when every act of Cook should be scrutinized

because we know something about the sun even at the Pole; where I expected to see the brilliancy of Helgesen's mind displayed to advantage; where I was looking for an intellectual treat in watching his skill with his scalpel in dissecting Cook's observations and perhaps simultaneously vivisecting the Doctor himself, or tossing him to the clouds; astonishing as it may seem, on all these vital things, he is as silent as a charnal house.

Cook took seven observations of the sun. He took photographs with the sun. He measured shadows of the sun. He computed his time by the sun. He measured its altitude in different ways. He calculated its parallax refraction and declination. For goodness sake, was there *nothing* in all these acts, claimed to have been done right at the North Pole worthy of criticism by an acknowledged genius?

Helgesen sticks to his adopted tactics even at the Pole of catching Cook at inaccuracies in trifling non-essential matters. He reviews the dates of Cook's arrival and departure, not the fact of arrival, the inaccuracy of the hour of moving to the second camp, not the fact of moving; the methods of measuring shadows, not disputing the fact of the measurements. But he is surely in his element and under safe shelter in charging Cook with possibly plagiarizing his descriptions of the color of the ice and snow, the temperate and the ocean current, because this charge is simply imagination. If Cook described these as others have done, it is as much evidence of its truth as it is of plagiarism. In fact all of Helgesen's criticisms are apparently puerile, picayunish, pettifogging attempts at juggling with clerical errors. He spreads his comments on these matters over five pages of the Record; repeating himself over and over; quoting the same things over and over admitting as I have inferred, the clerical errors, then linking those errors with the facts, and juggling with the combination to such utter confusion in an apparently vain attempt to give force to his farcical criticisms, that it will require a discerning mind to even conjecture what he is driving at.

Helgesen says on page 703, expressing his sentiment for Cook, "I have hesitated to add anything to the load of criticism that has been heaped upon a man who has been treated with great injustice."

Evidently that *hesitation* was but momentary.

Helgesen on the return trip apparently weakens. He "hedges" on his denial of the discovery of Bradley Land by saying on page 720:

"Even if later explorers report the existence of land at or *about* the place where Cook reported 'Bradley Land,' such a report will not prove that Cook was ever there, for the theory of an Arctic Continent in the Polar Sea has long been held, and in the light of Cook's other contradictory reports, such a possible confirmation of his Bradley Land can be only considered as the confirmation of a 'lucky guess.'"

Not much bravery in a critic seeking refuge in this manner.

Helgesen follows Cook's narrative with his wolfish eyes from the Pole down to Crown Prince Gustave Sea, then to Sparbo, then on back to Annoatok, and home; criticising every move, and apparently almost every sentence. He says, page 720, that Cook mentions seeing some small islands near Ringes Land. But Helgesen says he cannot find those islands on any map; hence the unreliability of Cook. Cook says that he suffered from hunger after leaving Sparbo. Whitney and Francke both say that he was practically a skeleton when he reached Annoatok. But Helgesen shows by calculation that Cook is mistaken; and so on in over forty criticisms he follows him back to Annoatok, Greenland. It would be in vain to claim that there is any purpose in these criticisms south of Svartevoeg to get at the truth about the North Pole. They can be for no other purpose than to find data for damaging Cook's reputation.

Mr. Helgesen adopts throughout his speech the usual tactics of debators who have not a strong argument to present by stating that "Cook *does not* say,"—"does not explain,"—"fails to state,"—"does not tell us," etc., etc., in various phrases

to express this meaning. Knowing, of course, that to accuse one of what he does *not* do, or does *not* say is a perfectly safe proposition, and that one could fill a volume with such accusations big enough to sink a ship. Nevertheless, it is proper in this instance to come back at Mr. Helgesen with one of his own weapons. On page 712-713, Mr. Helgesen says:

"A notable feature of Peary's narrative of his last polar expedition is his rapid increase in speed immediately after the return of his last supporting party. So with Dr. Cook. The day following the return of the two Eskimos who composed what he called his 'last feed men' his mileage jumped from 16 miles on March 20 to 29 miles on March 21, almost double the speed of the previous day."

This is a fact, but in the insinuating manner stated, it is misleading and deceptive. Why could not Mr. Helgesen, in this instance have reached the stature of the noble character pictured in position No. 1 and have bronght in to the comparison the traveling speed of McMillan, the only person besides Cook who ever traversed that portion of the Polar Sea? Why, I ask, does he go to another sea and select a coincidence for a comparison, when he knows that this coinciding circumstance *is fiction?* Why did he not say that McMillan traveled practically over the same spot (at least over the same sea, in the same vicinity) in the same season of the year, and on his return trip from the search for the mythical Crocker Land, traveled 50 miles on the first day, 48 miles on the 2nd day, 35 miles on the third, which brought him within 17 miles of land, which the next day he covered in a few hours? Had Helgesen shown the comparative speed even of these three travelers together, any reader could then judge as to what the probable truth is as to Cook's alleged speed on March 21 of 29 miles. Is Helgesen's comparison in this instance an honest effort to *evolve* the truth as he claims it to be, or is it an effort to *suppress* the truth?

But the question that I am attempting to decide is: Has covered a sentence in Cook's writings that can be in disproving his claim to the discovery of the

North Pole. Helgesen has shown his hand. He has divulged his tactics. He has exposed himself to be a person of far greater moral obliquity than he has shown Dr. Cook to be, in my opinion. But the reputation of neither of them *is at issue* in this research.

I have been told that one can prove too much at times.

Suppose for illustration it be accepted as proven that Cook never writes a narrative truthfully; that everything he does write is known to be false by everybody. Does this knowledge prove that he did not sail from Gloucester because of his false description of events at that port? That he did not start from Annoatok on February 19, because the sun did not rise on the day he says it did? That he did not cross Ellesmere Land because of his open perfidy with Francke; or travel north because he did not publish his compass variation; or pass by Ringes Islands because there are no small islands near there shown on any map; or visit Sparbo and return to Annoatok because he falsely says he suffered from hunger en route? If we admit that Helgesen has actually proven all these things, then why can he not verify at least *one of them*, in some way, by showing where Cook probably was during that year from February 1908 to April 1909? He was somewhere if he was not at any of these places.

On the other hand if these accepted inaccuracies *do not* prove that Cook did not visit these localities, then on what theory of logic *can they prove* that he did not go to the Pole? Cannot a liar get to the Pole, or a criminal?

I presume Mr. Helgesen will admit that which no one disputes, because proven by others, that Dr. Cook actually did visit all the geographical points he has mentioned that are as far south as Svartevoeg inclusive, *viz.*, Gloucester, Annoatok, Ringes Land and Sparbo and points en route. If he does admit these visits, and we should also admit for purposes of argument, that Helgesen has proven all his contentions against Cook's veracity; then in that event Helgesen has certainly also proven

that falsifying is *no bar to some of an explorer's accomplishments;* which is the point for which I am contending.

This fact being a *proven certainty*, and *proven by Helgesen himself*, then for what earthly purpose can this attempt at showing inaccuracy and falsification on the part of Cook at every point *all around this circuitous route* be introduced, if it be not for the *sole purpose* of injuring Dr. Cook, the individual? To injure his reputation and his standing in the public mind? This evidence is not introduced in a single instance for the purpose of corroborating any established fact.

Discovery is a fact, not a bauble that can be exploded by innuendo, insinuation or by showing the discoverer to be inaccurate or unreliable. The reputation of Wilkes, the *individual*, was impaired by slander, prejudice, jealousy and falsehood, as others have been, but his discovery is a *fact;* and Wilkes, the *explorer*, is joined as much as the rocks to the Antarctic Continent. Certain qualifications are essential to the success of an explorer on the Polar Sea, but accuracy or veracity is not among them. Criminality even would not bar him. Neither can the truth nor falsity of an explorer's claim be established by *belief*. It must be by evidence.

Thousands of persons, through the influence of an organized press bureau campaign *believe* that Peary reached the North Pole in 1909. The *belief* must be well nigh universal that he reached 87° 6′ in 1906.

Many persons *believe* what they *want* to believe. Shakespeare wrote:

> "When my love swears that she is made of truth,
> I do believe her, though I know she lies."

The fact that Mr. Helgesen and others whose writings I have reviewed will resort to such methods as I have herein exposed not only indicates, but is *strong evidence* that each of them *believes* (or fears) that Cook reached the Pole, *which they regret.*

Cook's ascent of Mt. McKinley rested wholly on belief

until subsequent explorers, in attempting to rob him of his glory, *proved his claim.**

When Peary made his statement No. 1 on one day and then on the next day proved by an alleged observation that the first statement was false, it was his undoing. But it was not the falsehood itself that was significant; it would not have been significant even if he had falsified every sentence in his story. But the significance rested in the FACT that the falsehood proved INVENTION, and proving invention, SOLVED THE PROBLEM.

When anyone can catch Cook at business of that character, it will be Cook's undoing. I commented on his measuring shadows, but I am not infallible. It is not proof. Cook should not suffer for *my opinion.*

Cook never *will* be, nor ever *can* be convicted by any such methods as those adopted by Prof. Stockwell, Geo. Kennan, Karl Decker or the Hon. Henry T. Helgesen. They convict themselves, but not Cook.

If anyone can show something in Cook's narrative that is good evidence that he did not reach the Pole, it is certainly high time, for the benefit of this generation, he got at it. I should like to read it.

I have not reviewed all the criticisms made by Mr. Helgesen. I have selected only those that seemed to me most pointed in their nature, or that had the most force.

It will, I think, be seen that Mr. Helgesen has not produced one sentence on any subject in Cook's writings that is evidence or proof that he did not attain the Pole; or evidence that is inconsistent with the theory of his attaining it; or evidence even that it was written to deceive one into believing that he reached the Pole. This is all I care to do.

(Helgesen furnishes evidence of contradiction by Cook in a letter from Upernavik to Capt. Bernier as to Cook's seeing or not seeing Crocker Land. I shall not attempt to uphold, condone or defend Cook's reputation for accuracy or truthful-

* *Mt. McKinley and Mountain Climbers Proofs*—Edwin Swift Balch.

ness against Helgesen's desire to assail it. It is not my purpose. It is not at issue in this contention. It befogs the issue. Let the record stand as Helgesen makes it, as far as its materiality is concerned in this review. That issue can be discussed on its own merits by Cook's friends. I think they will have no difficulty in turning the tables on Mr. Helgesen, if any good purpose can be served by doing so.)

Helgesen has not proven his conclusions to be justified, but has accomplished the ends he evidently has sought, and more. He has builded (or torn down) better than he knew. He has injured the reputation of another. Not a difficult thing to do, if one is sufficiently strenuous and persistent. Like begets like. One reaps what he sows. He has also injured, irreparably, the reputation of Mr. Helgesen.

I doubt if any unbiased, impartial reader of Mr. Helgesen's speech can come to any other conclusion than that it is a studied, strained endeavor to create prejudice against Cook for personal reasons.

Mr. Helgesen has rendered valuable service to the Government and to the cause of truth by his researches, investigations and true analysis of Peary's claims.

But what answer will he make when the friends of Peary falsely and illogically say that his insincerity regarding Cook's claims prove his insincerity in regard to Peary's claims? Will he not then realize that he has placed himself in the position he has been endeavoring to place Cook?

There is nothing yet produced by anyone that would even temporarily *suspend* the claims of any explorer *except* Cook. Peary is the one who originated the contention, and through the friendly efforts of a naval clique and a press syndicate, backed by multi-millionaires whose names are perpetuated on false capes and camps, has created public opinion. But all the other complainants, parrot like, are simply singing what they have been taught.

The better evidence to discredit Cook's attainment of the

Pole than anything yet written by his enemies is the indications of *land* at the Pole.

The easterly current north of Grant Land, the southerly current west of that Land, the westerly current from the Mackenzie river, as proven by the drift of the Karluk, Jeanette, Fram and ten whaling ships in 1777, and the fact that all these currents mingle near the south end of Greenland and flow into the Atlantic, points clearly to the probability that *land* exists in the vicinity of the Pole. Possibly it may not be above the surface of the ocean, but near enough to the surface to direct these currents.

On the other hand, there are two separate matters that arise to the surface in this investigation which, to my mind, indicate that Cook may have reached the Pole.

The first is the significant fact that Cook's two Eskimos *did not* (in Peary's own report) *deny to Peary at Etah that they reached the Pole with Cook.* And (provided Whitney is correctly reported) the further significance which attaches to this fact is that they *could not be induced by Peary's friends to deny it.* And the still further significance is *in the fact that they were not given an opportunity to affirm it.*

I cannot see, how this circumstance can fairly be considered in any other light than *evidence by witnesses.*

The second is the peculiar significance which attaches to the picture "*Mending Near the Pole.*"

No one, not even Cook, can prove that he attained the Pole, but these two circumstances indicate that he may have done so.

Mr. Helgesen quotes Cook to agree with him that

"few men in all history . . . have ever been made the subject of such vicious attacks of such malevolent assailing of character of such series of perjured and forged charges . . . as I."

Both are mistaken. The storm that is now blowing around the name of Frederick A. Cook is a gentle zephyr compared with the hurricanes that have raged around the names of his predecessors returning from the Arctic and Antarctic Seas. A fickle

public soon loses interest, soon forgets. After a while magazine and newspaper articles will be buried in oblivion. The child of today will not know their contents. But he will read history and the narratives of explorers. Some of those returning explorers to whom I refer were not charged with "inaccuracy," but with *crimes; heinous* and diabolical. But they afterward lived exemplary lives, deservedly honored and renowned. Few men of great achievement escape calumny. Some persons even today delight in reviving the scandals of the days of Washington, but while these scandals were apparently of interest in Washington's lifetime, to revive them now is *unpopular*. No one I believe was ever more viciously traduced than Lincoln, even in my days, and even by men now living. But no public man can serve his interest by reviving them, hence they are mostly forgotten.

Unless something in Cook's narrative is found, or some explorer produces evidence that proves adversely to Cook's claim, history will certainly award him the honor of being the discoverer of the North Pole.

As long as it is popular and accords with public sentiment, it may be expected that muckrakers and opportunists will defame and traduce the down and under, Dr. Cook, because it is well known that all can listen, but few penetrate.

Cook must expect this treatment however unjust. It is the penalty of great achievement. Students of the situation must expect it. He is not differently situated than was Wilkes in the far Antarctic, who within a year or two past, has finally been vindicated. Or than was Stanley in Africa. Or the others to whom I will refer. Cook may not live to be vindicated, if he deserves vindication. He will in all probability go down to his grave as did Wilkes, unwept, unhonored and unsung. But time, the great alchemist, will eventually combine all these charges into his melting pot, and if the truth justifies it, transmute them into gold.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

THE foregoing pages establish beyond a reasonable doubt that Cook's narrative taken as a whole presents a reasonable case, that diligent search has failed to find any critic who has discovered anything unreasonable within its pages. As far as this research extends, it is proved that all critics without a single exception who have attacked Cook have themselves relied upon false premises and this is conclusive evidence, that they have found nothing truthful against him. If the *Outlook* can find no truthful facts to present; if Prof. Stockwell cannot truthfully discredit any errors in Cook's astronomical claims; if the Peary Arctic Club cannot formulate a clearer statement of the Eskimo inquisition than the one published; what voice or pen will be likely to be raised against the integrity of Cook's story?

As the case now stands, none appears to be needed. A member of a contesting team umpires the game. A plaintiff is the judge in his own case. ONE man: Robert E. Peary, himself a competing claimant for the honor, is the only person who has furnished a scrap of evidence to discredit Cook's narrative. Every word furnished by this man is *ex-parte*, hearsay. Nevertheless, with the assistance of a compact clique of wealthy and influential citizens, he has been instrumental in successfully condemning, in the eyes of civilized mankind, as a humbug and cheat, a POSSIBLE discoverer of the NORTH POLE.

FOUR men: Henry Gannett, O. H. Tittmann, and Colby M. Chester, (each a high Government official) with Gilbert H. Grosvenor as an accomplice, after a few hours superficial,

partisan, farcical investigation; instigated by themselves; through an obviously organized conspiracy, have named, and the civilized world has accepted that name, an IMPOSSIBLE CLAIMANT, as the discoverer of the North Pole.

Standard historians and noted explorers have expressed confidence in Cook's story. Capt. Evelyn Briggs Baldwin, meteorologist of the Peary expedition 1893-4,second in command of the Wellman expedition 1898-9, organizer and leader of the Baldwin-Ziegler Polar Expedition 1901-2, etc., writes: "All the world's greatest explorers, have endorsed Cook including Rear Admiral W. S. Schley, General A. W. Greeley, Capt. Otto Sverdrup, and Capt. Roald Amundsen."* Haddok, a distinguished scientist of John Hopkins University, contends that Cook reached the Pole.

History should be the truth. But if history were always true, historians would be in accord and unanimous as to facts within their knowledge. But they are not. In the 11th edition of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, the chapter on polar explorations is very extravagant in praise of Peary's alleged achievement. It omits any reference to Cook's experience on that sea in 1907-8 except the following sentence printed in small type: "Dr. Frederick A. Cook spent two years in the Arctic regions, 1907-1909 and claimed to have reached the Pole by sledging alone with two Eskimos a year before Peary. He submitted the evidence for this achievement to the University of Copenhagen which failed to find it satisfactory and Dr. Cook did not appear to challenge this decision."

Cook is a noted explorer in both the Arctic and Antarctic Seas of 20 years experience. It is well known that during the "two years" mentioned (1907-9) he traveled on the North Polar Sea over territory never before trodden by man. Even though he went no farther north from Heiberg Land than 92 miles, it is a greater distance than any explorer in arctic history has succeeded in reaching, excepting Nansen, Cagni and possibly

*Cook in his "Attainment of the Pole" published the names of some 50 explorers who endorse his claims.

Peary. It lacks only 37 miles of equalling the northing made by Nansen after he left his ship. Therefore, if we admit for this purpose, that Cook did not go to the Pole, can it be the history of polar exploration, to omit his acknowledged exploits? Is it giving the public the available knowledge on a special subject? Cortez lied, betrayed, assassinated. So did Pizarro. But the history of Mexico or Peru would be incomplete, if no reference were made to those names, because of those crimes.

General A. W. Greeley, undoubtedly the highest authority on polar matters mentions instances of the claims of discoverers, whose claims were proved fictitious by subsequent explorers. Instances of discredited claims are not infrequent in the voyages of exploration in the Antartic Sea. Is, therefore, the omission of what Cook did in the Arctic in 1907-1908 promulgating, or is it suppressing knowledge? May it not reflect Byron's thought:

"The Caeser's pageant shorn of Brutus' bust
Did but of Rome's best son remind her more."

Dr. Fitzjof Nansen, the great explorer, wrote the chapter referred to, in the Encyclopedia Brittanica. Some of Nansen's feats in the Arctic are unrivalled in the annals of polar exploration. He served his king with distinction as Ambassador to the Court of St. James. He is a friend of Amundsen, and but for his assistance, moral and financial, it is possible that Amundsen's project would have failed of the necessary support. Nansen, therefore, is entitled to no little share in the discovery of the South Pole, and Amundsen with his big heart, gives him full credit. But the truth must be told.

Nansen's claim to his farthest north, is no better than Cook's claim to his North Pole. Nansen presents no different and no stronger evidence. His evidence rests on the same, but no sounder basis. In truth, there are more paragraphs in Nansen's book, to make one hold his breath, than can be found on any page in Cook's book. This being true, it must be written to be fair and just. It is but justice to Nansen to say, that no stronger evidence could have been presented than he

has offered. He offered all he had, all he could offer. So has Cook.

Cook as well as Nansen, seems at times to lack political sagacity. This also may as well be told. Cook erred perhaps, when he succumbed to the overwhelming pressure, even though he was unable, financially or otherwise to withstand it, in expatriating himself. He erred perhaps in sending his data to Copenhagen, under fire. Had he then published to the world all his observations and calculations thereon, as he has since published them in his book, and challenged Peary to do the same with his alleged observations, he would have exposed the masquerader because Peary never would have met the challenge. He never will meet it.

Cook is one of the most brilliant narrative and descriptive writers in the English language; still it is said that in some of his positions he lacks tact. After Cook returned from serving Peary in the Arctic he joined the Belgian Antarctic Expedition as surgeon and anthropologist. Amundsen was chief mate. The ship became fast in the ice early in the Antarctic autumn and did not emerge until late the following season, spending nearly a year imprisoned in the pack. That expedition was the first to pass a winter in the far Antarctic Sea.

Cook published an account of that voyage in a book of wide reputation, *The First Antarctic Night.* Had he been guided by political expediency, some paragraphs in that book might have been omitted. Being a physician and scientist, desiring to sustain his views on the subject of physical health in polar regions, he took issue with some paragraphs in Nansen's book, *Farthest North.* His dissent may be interpreted to infer, that Nansen's claims as to the health of his comrades under specified conditions, were not altogether reliable; or that as related by Nansen they were misleading. This position of Cook was proper enough, except as a matter of sheer policy.

Amundsen, a comrade during that long Antarctic night, knows Cook from A to Z. Since then Amundsen has successfully made the Northwestern Passage; has discovered the South

Pole; and has written a notable book himself called *The South Pole.* His great friend Nansen wrote the prelude to that book. Johansen, Nansen's sledging companion, was a companion with Amundsen a whole winter in the Antarctic. Years, therefore, before publishing his own book, Amundsen had, of course, read Nansen's *Farthest North;* he was intimate with Johansen; and he had read Cook's *The First Antarctic Night,* including the comments of Cook therein on Nansen's claims as to the health of his party. He, therefore, knew all the circumstances from every point of view, and he knew intimately all the parties involved. On page 19, Amundsen's *South Pole* appears the following:

"Frederick A. Cook of Brooklyn, was surgeon to the expedition, beloved and respected by all. As a medical man, his calm, and convincing presence had an excellent effect. As things turned out the greatest responsibility fell upon Cook, but he mastered the situation in a wonderful way. Through his practical qualities he became indispensable. It cannot be denied that the Belgian Antarctic expedition owes a great debt to Cook."

Writing of sickness and scurvy he says:*

"Cook's behaviour at this time won the respect and devotion of all. It is not too much to say that Cook was the most popular man of the expedition, and he deserved it. From morning to night he was occupied with his many patients, and when the sun returned it happened not infrequently that, after a strenuous day's work the doctor sacrificed his night's sleep to go hunting seals and penguins, in order to provide the fresh meat that was so greatly needed by all.

"On July 22 the sun returned. It was not a pleasant sight that it shone upon. The Antarctic winter set its mark upon all, the green, wasted faces stared at the returning light.

"Time went on, and the summer arrived. They waited day by day to see a change in the ice. But no; the ice they had entered so light-heartedly was not to be so easy to get out of again.

"New Year's day came and went without any change in the ice.

*Page 23-24.

"The situation now began to be seriously threatening. Another winter in the ice would mean death and destruction on a large scale. Disease and insufficient nourishment would soon make an end of most of the ship's company.

"Again Cook came to the aid of the expedition.

"In conjunction with Racovitza he had thought out a very ingenious way of sawing a channel, and thus reaching the nearest lead. The proposal was submitted to the leader of the expedition and accepted by him; both the plan and the method of carrying it out were well considered.

"After three weeks' hard work, day and night, they at last reached the lead.

"Cook was incontestably the leading spirit in this work, and gained such honour among the members of the expedition that I think it just to mention it. Upright, honourable, capable, and conscientious in the extreme—such is the memory we retain of Frederick A. Cook from those days.

"Little did his comrades suspect that a few years later he would be regarded as one of the greatest humbugs the world has ever seen. This is a psychological enigma well worth studying to those who care to do so."

These pages may offer such an opportunity for study, if not to solve the enigma. This is sufficient on this subject. Whether the omission in the Encylopedia Brittanica of Cook's achievements in the Arctic is evidence against him, depends, I think, entirely upon individual opinion, as to what is history, and as to what is just and right.

There is one other explorer of equal distinction with Nansen who intimates (as does Nansen, but neither boldly says so) that he also discredits Cook's claims. He is the only other one of whom I know. He also as is usual sustains the claims of Peary. I will not review anything that this explorer has written about himself, as his position regarding Cook and Peary is too indefinite, too vague, to challenge. If either of these two distinguished explorers have reasons for the faith that is in them, they ought to out with it. I know of no two men whose reasons if published would have greater influence on the public mind.

At all events I have endeavored in these pages to give them and others like them something to think about. If I have

erred, they can if they wish point out wherein I have done so. If I have seriously erred; either as to Peary or Cook, and if it should be of sufficient importance, such men as they should lay it before the bar of history. Arctic exploration is entitled to it. Common justice is entitled to it.

There is always a time when only one mind believes in the discovery of a great truth. In spite of a general unbelief after long and careful study, it is my sincere conviction that there is not one narrative of unwitnessed polar exploration, north or south; not one of tropical exploration, east or west; not a story of a mountain climber, or of a deep sea diver yet written, that is more entitled to credence, or that will better stand the test of close analysis and synthesis, than Cook's *My Attainment of the Pole.*

Cook's narrative has been before the public many years. It has been subject to the most minute scrutiny that invention, talent and money could give. Not one important feature has been truthfully discredited. It stands unimpeached, although bribery, and conspiracy have done their best. A campaign of infamy has been waged, and has spent its force; but not one solitary sentence of an attempt to deceive has been *proved.* Musk-ox inventions, starved dogs, fictitious astronomical, or other calculations may have some effect on popular opinion; but they have none on facts.

Cook's claim to the discovery of the North Pole, I repeat for this purpose is as sound and as valid, as the claim of Nansen to his *Farthest North,* or of the claim Shackleton made to his *Farthest South.* The only difference is in the matter of acceptance of the stories by the public, and this is largely a matter of circumstances, conditions and environments.

Nansen had been before the public for years, and was universally recognized as a man of probity and honor. The same in all respects, and to the fullest extent, it is believed, can truthfully be said of Shackleton. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Nansen and Shackleton were both in some measure, favorites of fortune—creatures of circumstance and conditions,

as are all. Who was in position, who had any adverse interest, what individual was disastrously affected by Nansen's or by Shackleton's great achievement?

But suppose at the beginning of the year 1911, that Scott, a man renowned for uprightness and loftiness of character, who was then in the Antarctic in quest of the South Pole, had found that the Fates were unpropitious. That accident, untoward events, or some fatality had caused this intrepid explorer to have failed in his mission. Now suppose the impossible. Suppose him to have had the temperament, the disposition, and the weaknesses of Peary. Suppose egotism, envy and jealousy, to have been in him uncontrollable passions, over-riding discretion, unbalancing judgment, and tincturing sincerity. What then? Suppose he had yielded to the tempter, (impossible) and had returned alive discrediting the narrative of Shackleton (even though on land, where all that Shackleton has claimed can be verified). What then? Parties would instantly have arisen; a *Scott Party;* a *Shackleton Party.* Deception, accusations, falsehoods would have filled the pages of the press. The controversy thus born, would not have died out, until the partisans had died off. Possibly the death of both explorers would have occurred, before history could have recorded the truth.

All history attests such events as these. Marco Polo, in many respects, the greatest of travelers, left his home in Italy in the twelfth century, disappearing in the wilderness. Twenty-five years later, he emerged, surcharged with his wonderful story of what he saw and heard, in far off Cathay. His tales were so strange, so astounding, that they challenged credulity. Criticisms arose to such heights, and with such vehemence, as to overpower him. Having no means of proving his claims, he died, nicknamed, dishonored, discredited. More than one hundred years elapsed before his discoveries were acknowledged. The march of progress, however, gradually raised the barriers between the Orient and the Occident, and now every school knows what Polo then knew. He was the victim of cir-

cumstance and conditions, so were Hudson, Magellan and Columbus. So is everybody.

There are three ways a discoverer of the North Pole may prove his claim, and *three only*: Witnesses, soundings, land. Witnesses are necessarily unsatisfactory. They are interested; they are biased. They are passing judgment on their own contention; but if of high character, and if the expedition is conducted with lofty motives, devoid of mercenary features, they are usually accepted without question; leaving science and time to check and confirm or to doubt and disprove.

In the case of Cook a novel character of evidence by witnesses, introduces itself which makes it as reliable and as indisputable, as a geometrical proposition. It is spontaneous. It does not rely upon veracity; and strangely enough, it is unearthed by an effort to smother it. Arctic history is replete with incidents of surpassing importance, learned through Eskimo sources; not because their truthfulness is to be relied upon, but because of their relation to facts, which being in their possession, was of itself positive evidence of truth.

The two Cook Eskimos, and the four Peary Eskimos have before this, all told their several stories of their journeys to their neighbors around Etah, the facts as far as it is in their power to convey them are common knowledge. Future visitors to Etah may bring them back. It could now be done by genuine, impartial, scientific effort. At all events, the whole truth as to both explorers will in time undoubtedly be known.

Cook, fortunately for him has other evidence, beside witnesses. He says he discovered Bradley Land. The most northerly land yet seen by man. On that discovery alone, his claim may rest. Conspiracies, university decisions, partisan society reports, medals, honors, will all tumble and fade, when next that land is seen; and if it is there, it will be seen. If that land exists, as Cook describes it, the rest of his story will doubtless be believed.

Peary having eliminated land and soundings, with his

witnesses against him, must rest his claim on the plausibility of his narrative alone.

Cook has another claim, perhaps equal in force to his witnesses, and to his land discovery. It is the discovery of *open sea* at the Pole. When Cook reached civilization, he knew it was but a few days, or weeks at most, when Peary would return, possibly to flash upon the world the news that his own expedition had reached the Pole and to announce what? Land? Or sea? Who knows? Who could possibly know? Yet with a confidence seemingly born of genuine integrity, relying implicitly upon the force of right, and truth, Cook declared; "It is all SEA at the Pole. *Land* at 85°; a *glacial island* between 87 and 88 degrees; sea at 90 degrees; smooth ice; an endless field of purple snow." On one of these monumental facts the discoverer of the NORTH POLE may be known.

It may not be positively known, whether the North Pole has been discovered, until it is visited by others. This will be done. Stevansson is now in the Arctic with three ships. Amundsen will follow. Aeroplanes already have a radius of operation more than equal to the distance from land to the Pole; airships more than twice the distance. But they would not need this radius, beeause suitable landings upon ice floes must be abundant in the early months. A Zeppelin air ship could start from Norway or Russia in February or March, and make the round trip to the Pole with unquestioned certainty. So that it is a safe prediction that the North Pole will be visited before many years, and all the conditions and phenomena surrounding it will be of common knowledge, and the truth or falsity of Cook's claim will be established.

Amundsen with his reliable *Fram*, proposes to enter the north polar ice pack, north from Alaska in the summer of 1915, in the expectation that the drifting pack will carry his imprisoned ship across the Arctic Ocean in the vicinity of the North Pole, and emerge in course of five years, north of the Atlantic, *in* the Greenland Sea. If his prediction be verified, his ship *will* be in the vicinity of the North Pole in the summer or

perhaps the winter of 1917. He will take with him dogs and sledges, aroeplanes and wireless facilities. He will have the most perfect equipment known to modern science for making his venture a success. Little doubt exists, that if he lives, and his ship survives, and his prediction is sound, he will visit the Pole.*

The fates may have already decreed that the discoverer of the South Pole is destined to be also the discoverer of the North Pole; or possibly it may be, that the fates have so decreed, that as Scott has vouched for him, he in turn is to vouch for Cook.

When Amundsen emerges, or before emerging if his wireless communication is operative, or when some aviator visits the Pole he will undoubtedly have a message, which will have the effect, as if of sharpened steel, of digging a deep grave; in which will be buried the claim, the name, the honor of Frederick A. Cook. Over that grave will rest a monument, inscribed with the record of his shame. Or else that message, as if from Austerlitz, will read that the snowy hood of Bradley Land, still silhouettes the arctic sky; or that a glacial island further north still holds its moorings; or that at the boreal center of the globe, the drifting pack still continues its eternal course. Should this message be even but a part of the latter tale; and even though it come after Cook has passed away; there will surely arise in history, a gigantic figure; towering, like Chimborazo above the clouds. Then all the world will likely say, "Go take your kingdom. You have conquered all. You have won a victory, even over death. The trail that you have described over that trackless crystal solitude, will be a familiar scene in the thoughts, and in the day dreams, of ages and ages of admirers."

*From what I read of Arctic currents, I do not think there is any place north of Alaska where Amundsen can enter the ice far enough north with his ship and drift across the Pole. But Amundsen has been in those waters and if he thinks there is a chance and he attempts it, and lives, he will visit the Pole.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

ANALYSIS OF MR. PEARY'S POLAR STATEMENTS

By W. J. Armbruster

Section I

Mr. Peary's own words, covering all the statements to be analyzed, pages 287 and 288 of his book, are:

"The last march northward ended at ten o'clock on the forenoon of April 6. After the usual arrangements for going into camp, at approximate local noon, of the Columbia meridian, I made the first observation at our polar camp. It indicated our position as 89° 57′."

"Everything was in readiness for an observation at 6 p. m., Columbia meridian time, in case the sky should be clear, but at that hour it was unfortunately, still overcast. But as there were indications that it would clear before long, two of the Eskimos and myself made ready a light sledge carrying only the instruments, a tin of pemmican, and one or two skins; and drawn by a double team of dogs, we pushed on an estimated distance of ten miles. While we traveled, the sky cleared, and at the end of the journey, I was able to get a satisfactory series of observation at Columbia meridian midnight."

"It was hard to realize that, in the first miles of this brief march, we had been traveling due north, while, on the last few miles of the same march, we had been traveling south, although we had all the time been traveling in precisely the same direction."

"Again, please consider the uncommon circumstances that in order to return to our camp, it now became necessary to turn and go north again for a few miles and then to go directly south, all the time traveling in the same direction."

"At six o'clock on the morning of April 7, having again arrived at Camp Jessup, I took another series of observations. These indicated our position as being four or five miles from

the Pole, towards Behring Strait. Therefore, with a double team of dogs and a light sledge, I traveled directly towards the sun an estimated distance of eight miles. Again I returned to the camp in time for a final and completely satisfactory series of observations on April 7, at noon, Columbia meridian time. These observations gave results essentially the same as those made at the spot twenty-four hours before."

If Mr. Peary was on the Columbia Meridian in camp at "A,"* Latitude 89° 57′ North, and traveled, as he says, ten miles beyond along that meridian, then returned along the same line to camp at "A," then traveled 8 miles at right angles to the meridian toward the sun, his route would have been as designated by the red lines, from A to 1 to A to 2 to A.

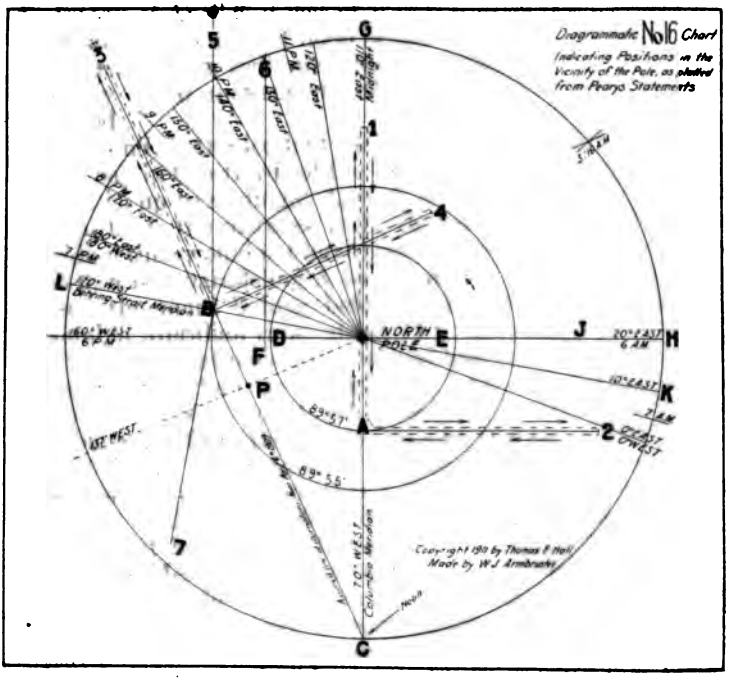
We cannot accept any part of this route as having been traversed, or that the camp was ever located at A, or that Mr. Peary was ever at A, for the following reasons:

(a.) The part of the route 1 to A to 2 to A must at once be discarded, for, according to Mr. Peary, upon returning to camp 18 hours after he first left it and after making several observations he gives the location of the camp as "four or five miles from the Pole towards Behring Strait," which would locate the camp as at "B." If the camp was at B and not at A, the return from 1 to the camp would have been 1 to B.

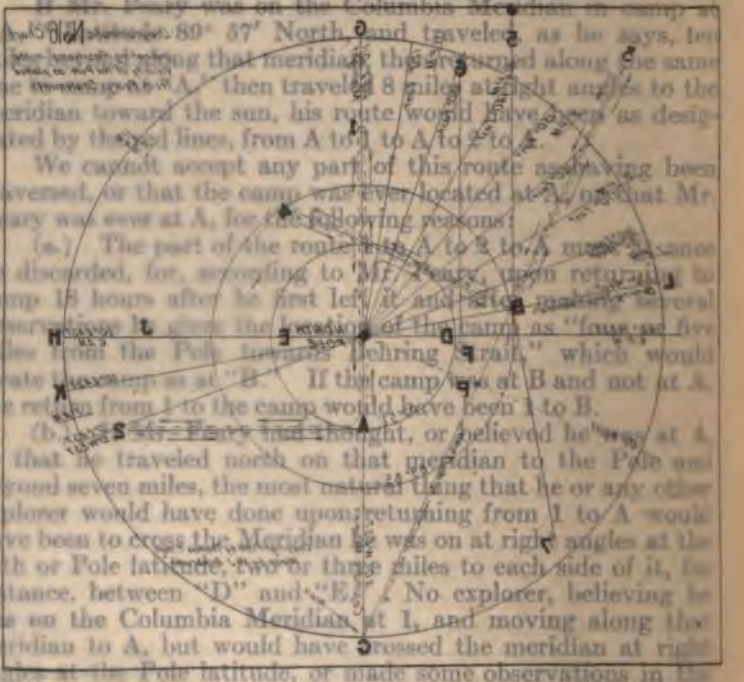
(b.) If Mr. Peary had thought, or believed he was at A, or that he traveled north on that meridian to the Pole and beyond seven miles, the most natural thing that he or any other explorer would have done upon returning from 1 to A would have been to cross the Meridian he was on at right angles at the 90th or Pole latitude, two or three miles to each side of it, for instance, between "D" and "E." No explorer, believing he was on the Columbia Meridian at 1, and moving along that meridian to A, but would have crossed the meridian at right angles at the Pole latitude, or made some observations in the vicinity of that latitude, when he reached it either going from A to 1 or while returning from 1 to A.

(c.) Mr. Peary and Camp Jessup were never at A, if, upon his return to it he found, upon taking further observations, that it was at B, unless it had moved from A to B during the interval of 18 hours from the time he first left camp until he returned to it, that is, between the two periods of observations.

In considering whether the proposition of the movement of the massive central polar ice 6¼ miles from A to B in less than


Diagrammatic No16 Chart
Indicating Positions on the Vicinity of the Pole, as plotted from Pearys Statements
NORTH POLE
Columbia Meridian
Copyright 1911 by Thomas F Hall
Made by W J Armbruster

the Pole, towards Behring Strait. Therefore, with a double team of dogs and a light sledge, I traveled directly towards the sun an estimated distance of eight miles. Again I returned to the camp in time for a final and completely satisfactory series of observations on April 7, at noon, Columbia meridian time. These observations gave results essentially the same as those made at the spot twenty-four hours before."



If Mr. Peary was on the Columbia Meridian in camp at "Latitude 89° 57′ North and traveled, as he says, ten miles toward [illegible] along that meridian, then turned along the same line [illegible] "A," then traveled 8 miles at right angles to the meridian toward the sun, his route would have been as designated by the red lines, from A to 1, 1 to A, A to 2, 2 to A.

We cannot accept any part of this route as having been traversed, or that the camp was ever located at 2, or that Mr. Peary was ever at A, for the following reasons:

(a.) The part of the route from A to 2 to A must be discarded, for, according to Mr. Peary, upon returning to camp 18 hours after he first left it and after making several observations he gives the location of the camp as "four or five miles from the Pole towards Behring Strait," which would locate the camp as at "B." If the camp was at B and not at A, the return from 1 to the camp would have been 1 to B.

(b.) If Mr. Peary had thought, or believed he was at A, or that he traveled north on that meridian to the Pole and beyond seven miles, the most natural thing that he or any other explorer would have done upon returning from 1 to A would have been to cross the Meridian he was on at right angles at the 90th or Pole latitude, two or three miles to each side of it, for instance, between "D" and "E."* No explorer, believing he was on the Columbia Meridian at 1, and moving along the meridian to A, but would have crossed the meridian at right angles at the Pole latitude, or made some observations in the vicinity of that latitude, when he reached it either going from A to 1 or while returning from 1 to A.

(c.) Mr. Peary and Camp Jessup were never at A, if upon his return to it he found, upon taking further observations, that it was at B, unless it had moved from A to B during the interval of 18 hours from the time he first left camp until he returned to it, that is, between the two periods of observations.

In considering whether the proposition of the movement of the massive central polar ice 6¾ miles from A to B in less than

*Diagram 18.

18 hours can be accepted one must carefully weigh Mr. Peary's other statement, that although his observations at 6 a. m. of April 7, showed the camp was at B, that when he left B and traveled 8 miles toward the sun (to the east) and returned to the camp, his observations, taken at noon of the same day, therefore within six hours after his morning observations, placed the camp again at A. The camp, then, according to Mr. Peary was at A at noon of April 6, it was at B at 6 a. m. of the 7th, (18 hours later) and again at A at noon of the 7th (six hours later.)

First, we can well reject the proposition that such wide and contrary rapid movements of the massive central polar ice occurred.

Second, if the ice had moved in the direction A to B and 1 to 5, say in two-thirds of the time noon April 6 to 6 a. m. April 7, that is, up to midnight April 6, it moved from A to F, which is two-thirds the distance to B, the sun at midnight Columbia meridian time would not have been at 6, in line with the direction F to 6, a line paralleling A to 1 and B5. The sun would have passed the point 6 long before midnight of his chronometer Columbia Meridian time, about 11 p. m., and not at midnight, and this would at once have warned him that he was not on the Columbia meridian, as he says. If he took an observation at midnight the sun would not have been in his front, but at a notable angle from the line he says he was on. Third, instead of Mr. Peary traveling in a straight line from A towards the Pole and beyond, to position 1, his line of travel would have been the equivalent of A to 6, and in this case he would have known that he was not traveling in a straight line along the Columbia Meridian, but at a wide angle from it towards the left, to 6, or, if he traveled in a straight line towards 1 he must have found it necessary to continually diverge strongly to the right to overcome the movement of the ice to the left, but no mention whatever of such an important circumstance is made, and had he so leaned strongly to the right to make point 1, purposely to hold to the Columbia Meridian, in that case, having knowledge of the rapid movement of the ice, on the return, if the ice was still moving in the same direction, he would not have moved along a straight line towards A, but would have headed towards B, at a very sharp angle from his position at 1, to head off and reach the camp at B. But according to Mr. Peary himself he did not do this, nor does he make any mention of it, in fact he says to the contrary, that he returned in a direct line to A. It is true that he says that upon returning to camp

the camp was at B. But that is not the point. The point is that according to his own statement he returned on the same line from 1 to the camp that he set out on from the camp to 1. If the camp was at B when he returned to it then his statement is not true. If the camp was at B when he returned to it then he did not "turn and go north again for a few miles and then go directly south" as he says, but must have cut across the north and south lines at an angle of about 40 degrees, or else, if he went directly north and south again, as he says, then he wouldn't have found the camp at A where he would have returned, but would have had to chase west in the direction of B, a quarter way round the horizon to catch up with it, or, if the ice at position 1 had moved to 6 at the same time it moved from A to F, then again none of the statements of Mr. Peary on this particular question would be correct, for the line returning from 1 would not have been north, and no part whatever of it, stopping as it does at B, would have been in a direction to the south of the Pole. Yet Mr. Peary says even now, after months of preparation for the statements made in his book:

"it now became necessary to turn and go north again for a few miles and then go directly south, all the time traveling in the same direction."

Fourth, if the ice had moved from A towards B, but swinging around with the axis of rotation at the pole or some point between it and 1, then Mr. Peary's statement would be even more erroneous, unless proper correction for the enormous movement of the ice was made, and instead of being at 1, and facing the midnight sun quarter of the horizon at G at midnight of his chronometer, he would have been somewhere between the pole and the horizon at H, and facing the horizon in the direction of the 6 a. m. quarter of the sun at H. If he had moved in a straight line celestial towards 1, a radical turning movement from a straight line would have been necessary to arrive at the position 1 equivalent to the Columbia Meridian and in line with the midnight sun meridian. So radical a turning movement would be astounding, and such an experience on the part of an explorer would certainly have brought forth some comment or reference to it. But there is none. And further, a complex diversion from a straight line between 1 and A would have been necessary to reach the camp at B. If Mr. Peary did not know of the immense movement of the ice in the direction A to B he

would not have arrived at 1 but at a point about J, between the pole and the horizon at H, and his observation of the sun at midnight would not have been on the Columbia Meridian. If he did know of it he must have made a tremendous turning movement to overcome the movement of the ice to arrive at 1 where he would be on the Columbia Meridian at midnight, and of this great turning movement some comment would have been made. But there is none. Even so, in neither case would he have traveled, on returning, first north and then south along the Columbia Meridian to reach the camp, but in the first instance he would have traveled square across the meridian and in the second at an angle of about 40 degrees across the north and south lines.

Fifth, considering now all these complexities in connection with the other that at noon of April 7, six hours after 6 a. m. of the 7th, when the camp was at B, it is now again at A, that in the six hours from 6 a. m. to noon of the same day the ice has rushed back from B to A, a distance of 6¼ miles, yet there is not a word by Mr. Peary that there was any movement at all of the ice.

Every probability that the camp was ever at A, that Mr. Peary was ever at that position, or that any part of the route outlined was traversed must be rejected. And this rejection must apply as well to the location of the camp at B after the return from the ten mile journey, for, in the face of the circumstances given, the location of the camp at B after the return is completely impugned, especially in view of the fact that less than six hours later the massive polar sea ice has rushed back with the camp to A.

Section II

We may now consider whether Camp Jessup was at B at noon of April 6, instead of at A. Mr. Peary states that Camp Jessup was on the Columbia Meridian, so on that statement alone Camp Jessup was not at B. We may consider however whether the camp was at B, perhaps mistakenly thought by Mr. Peary to be on the Columbia Meridian.

If Mr. Peary was at B at noon of April 6, instead of at A as he supposed and thought he was on the Columbia Meridian, and moved forward along the line of what he supposed was the Columbia Meridian ten miles in the same direction, then his route, including the 8 miles at a right angle to the east from the

camp at B would have been as shown by the violet lines, from B to 3 to B to 4 to B.

This must be rejected for the following reasons:

(a.) Mr. Peary makes the statement in his book, page 289, after months of preparation thereof, that "it was hard to realize that, in the first miles of this brief march (ten miles beyond Camp Jessup,) we had been traveling due north while, on the last few miles of the same march we had been traveling south, although we had been traveling precisely in the same direction." If Camp Jessup was at B and Mr. Peary traveled north from B the first few miles of the ten miles out from B, then he did not travel from B to 3, for, immediately upon leaving B going towards 3 he would have been going south, not north. He would not have been going towards the Pole but away from it. To have gone towards the Pole from B, Mr. Peary would have found it necessary to have turned fully 180 degrees to the right of the line of his supposed Columbia Meridian, more than a right about face from the line of the sun he had just observed, more than a third around of the whole circle of horizon, more than a right angle, a right angle being 90 degrees and this turn to the right would have required 180 degrees. But Mr. Peary says he continued in the same direction, which would have been towards the position marked 3. This eliminates any likelihood that Mr. Peary might have turned more than a right angle and moved along the Behring Strait Meridian from B to the Pole and beyond in that direction. Also, had he done this the midnight sun would not have been opposite him at K but at G a quarter way round the horizon, as will be more fully explained later, and a right angle to this line after his return to B would have been from B to 7, which is out of the question. But Mr. Peary's other statement is that his observation after his return to Camp Jessup from the ten miles' journey was in the direction of his observation, at 6 a. m.—towards the sun, yet the journey of 8 miles towards the sun would not have been taken in this instance either, for he would have just returned from that direction on the return from the ten miles journey, had he, after first arriving at B, moved from B towards the Pole and beyond.

There is a very unsatisfactory contradiction or conflict in the statements made by Mr. Peary in *Hampton's* for August 1910, and what Mr. Peary says in his book on the subject of the line of his route when he returned to the camp from his observation at Columbia Meridian midnight. In August *Hampton's* Mr. Peary says:

"6 a. m. At Camp Jessup, I took another series of observations, *at right angles to those previously made.*"

In his book, given out after long preparation, Mr. Peary's statement is as follows:

"6 a. m.—At six o'clock on the morning of April 7, having again arrived at Camp Jesup, I took another series of observations."

The very vital assertion in the first statement "*at right angles to those previously made*" is abandoned and left out in the second statement, evidently for a very good reason, for the observation is taken from the sun and *the sun at that time was not at a right angle from the previous observation* whether made from B or A, for a right angle from B would be B to 4, a right angle from A would be A to 2, whereas the sun was at that time at H, the 6 a. m. quarter of the sun.

Again, in August *Hampton's* Mr. Peary says

"Then I went *in the direction of my observations* an estimated distance of eight miles." Whereas the statement in the book reads

"*I traveled directly toward the sun*, an estimated distance of eight miles."

These statements taken in connection each with its preceding are totally incompatible. If the camp were at B, where Mr. Peary located it after a series of observations, the eight miles at a right angle to the line of observation B to C would be B to 4, whereas a line directly towards the sun from B would be on a line drawn between B and H, as that is the 6 a. m. quarter of the sun Columbia Meridian time. So wide an error is not conceivable. The simplest observation of the compass, or the chronometer, or an angle mirror, or the position of the sun, would have obviated it.

(b.) Mr. Peary says in his book, page 289, referring to the ten mile journey beyond Camp Jesup:

"And at the end of the journey, I was able to get a satisfactory series of observations at Columbia Meridian midnight."

If Mr. Peary had traveled in the same direction of what he

supposed was the Columbia Meridian from B to 3, the midnight sun, Columbia Meridian time, would not have been in his front, on his line, but would have passed him long before 12 p. m. of his chronometer, and instead of the sun at midnight being in his front at 3 it would have been at G. The sun would have passed his front, or line, at 3, about 9 p. m., and that alone would instantly have warned him that he had not divided his horizon properly, that he was not on the Columbia Meridian, and that Camp Jessup was at the apex of an unequal triangle whose base line ran from the midnight sun at G to the position of the sun at noon at C, and that his observation at noon of the same day was not taken on the Columbia Meridian. This would have been a most important fact in his observations, yet no mention of it is made. It was the heart, the center, the very essence, the most important of all or any observation that could have been made at the Pole, for upon the accurate location of the line of longitude depends the safe return of an explorer from that region. Had Mr. Peary made any observation from the position 3 he would not have said that he was able to get *a* satisfactory observation, let alone a *series* of them, *at Columbia Meridian midnight.* It is not the question whether he could have taken an altitude of the sun from that point. If he had been at that point it is admitted that an altitude of the sun could have been taken if the sun was not obscured. The fact is that at that point he was not at Columbia Meridian midnight, and if the camp was at B and he had mistaken that position as the Columbia Meridian and went on in the same direction, his observations *were not*, as he says, *on Columbia Meridian midnight.*

(c.) Mr. Peary says, in *Hampton's* for August, that:

"When I had taken my observation at Camp Jessup in the Western Hemisphere at noon of April 6, Columbia Meridian time, *the sun had been in the south.* When I had taken my observations at midnight between the 6th and 7th at the end of my ten miles march, in the Eastern Hemisphere, *the sun was in the south at that point.*"

These two statements, just quoted, are not reiterated by Mr. Peary in his book. If Mr. Peary had been at B at noon of April 6, Columbia Meridian time, *the sun would not have been in the south.* At noon of the day Columbia Meridian time the sun would have been at C, whereas *south from the position at B is at L.* If, according to Mr. Peary, the sun was in the south

when he took the observation at noon Columbia Meridian time April 6, then the camp could not have been at B, for the sun was not in the south from B at noon Columbia Meridian time. If the observation was taken at noon, as stated by Mr. Peary, then the sun was at C, which, from B, is *north of east*, not south, and south of B at that time was *5:20* a. m. Columbia Meridian time. It is but fanciful assertion to say, as Mr. Peary indulges himself, that at the Pole in every direction is south. Standing at the hypothetical pole and looking toward the horizon is always south but on either side of the line of vision extending to the horizon is east or west; east on the left, and west on the right.

If the camp was not at B when he left it to go further, nor when he returned to it (according to the analysis under section 1 the location of the camp at B is completely impugned) there is no need to consider whether the section of the route from A to 4 to B was traversed, and further, from 6 a. m. of the 7th to noon of the same day the polar sea ice has rushed with the camp from B to A and the camp is now at A again, so it is useless to consider whether the route B to 4 to B was made. It could not have been made even according to Mr. Peary's own statement. He could not have traveled 8 miles from B towards 4 and returned along the same line to B, and then found himself at A, or, if he was following a terrestrial point, both the sun and the compass would have shown that he was following a line, due to the movement of the ice from B to A, almost the equivalent of J to A, to return to A. Such tremendous movements of positions terrestrial would have required an explorer's best wits and observation to have kept well in hand, and occasioned lengthy comment, yet not a word about it from Mr. Peary.

(d.) It is not worth while to consider, even if Mr. Peary had been at B, whether the ten mile journey might have been made from B onward in a direction toward 5, for this would not have been continuing in the same direction of the observation B to C, and further, all the argument against the route B to 3 would effectually apply against this assumption as well.

(e.) The only feature left for consideration is, whether an explorer, being at B, could, with the sun at C at noon Columbia Meridian time, have mistaken his position at B to be on the Columbia Meridian at A, especially if an explorer came up on the Columbia Meridian, and that direction being previously his south would mistake it for south after he had reached the

90th north or Pole latitude to one side of the pole, not knowing he had reached the 90th latitude and that the cardinal points had changed for his position.

The most necessary observation for an explorer to make on moving out on the polar ocean is to take the variation of the compass, for, when the skies are obscured, the sun not visible, and during snow-storms, the explorer's only guide would be the compass, and if he did not know its variation, he would almost certainly be lost if at a long distance from land. Mr. Peary states distinctly that *during the four days preceding and up to his observation at noon on April 5*, a latitude sight which he says placed him at 89° 25′, a distance of 35 miles from the Pole—page 284—the fields of ice were glittering,

"canopied with blue and lit by the sun and moon."

Given then, that at noon of April 5 and for days previous he had the sun to guide him and correct his compass if necessary, how could any man at all familiar with the use of the compass, in a distance of only 35 miles diverge from a straight line to the extent of 5 miles? For every 7 miles north he would have made an error of a mile to the west. He would have been traveling the hypothenuse line of a triangle instead of the base line which he intended to follow. An explorer who could not do better than that could not find himself. If Mr. Peary could not follow a compass line any better than that he would never know his position. In a matter of 490 miles an error in the same ratio would have carried him 70 miles to the west of his meridian. If such an error by compass were repeated every 35 miles, an explorer would, by the time he had gone less than 150 miles, be *coming back* instead of *going on*.

The position at B makes too wide an angle with a base line from the Pole, and with the Columbia Meridian, in view of the visibility of the sun at C, and the indication of the compass, to be considered as a possible error. But had the error been made, as soon as the sun had quartered or divided the horizon the error would have been discovered. Where the sun was obscured on the quarter, and visible at the half or opposite point of the sky, the position, checked by the chronometer, would have been corrected by the sun being opposite the point at G at midnight of the chronometer, instead of 3. Had Mr. Peary made such an error in the position at B and moved on in the same direction, his observations would not, as he states, have been made at Columbia Meridian midnight.

This is not a question of diverging from a straight line due to movement or condition of the ice or "leads." It is a question of whether an explorer cannot know his lines better, whether he cannot read the time of his chronometers more accurately, whether he cannot more accurately compare the time of his chronometers with the sun. Mr. Peary's chronometers would be inaccurate only one or two minutes during the entire journey and return, therefore only about one minute in a thirty day journey from the land, yet he is out with the sun many hours in every direction. It must be remembered that 6 hours' error in time here will send an explorer to a different quarter of the globe, and a few minutes entirely off his route.

In conclusion, and bearing on the subject generally, attention should be called to three important matters relating thereto:

First: Nowhere does Mr. Peary make the slightest reference to the variation of the compass. As before stated, the necessity of knowing this is of the greatest and the variation of the needle, on the way to and at the Pole is one of the most important facts that an explorer could bring to science. The absence of this is deplorable, for an engineer to ignore is inexcusable, and its absence, to say the least, very suspicious.

Second: The total absence of any longitudinal observations is also deplorable, for an engineer inexcusable, and again very suspicious, these being necessary the same as the variation of the compass, for an explorer to know his position.

Third: The character of the photographs submitted by Mr. Peary to have been taken at the Pole. Such could have been taken anywhere in the Arctic in a gray light. They could have been taken anywhere in the Arctic for his farthest position north. According to Mr. Peary he took an observation of the sun at noon of April 6, an observation of the sun at midnight April 6, an observation of the sun at 6 a. m. of April 7, and another observation of the sun at noon of April 7, four periods of sunshine within the thirty hours of the claimed stay at the Pole, yet consider the shadowless, characterless photographs stated to have been taken within that period.

No man could have lived through such amazing conditions as detailed and remained ignorant of them, and yet, Mr. Peary, in all his statements shows that he is ignorant of the veritable maze of abnormal conditions which must have existed if his general statement were true. The polar sun and the polar ice must have been dancing a weirder and wilder dance than the fabled dance of the witches on the Brocken on Walpurgis night.

APPENDIX II

H. W. LEWIN ON DRIFT

TAKEN FROM

DID PEARY REACH THE POLE?

W. Henry Lewin, IN "DID PEARY REACH THE POLE?" (London, England, 1910) gives a graphic description of the difficulty in plotting accurately the full deviation caused by DRIFT. He shows that if the true drifting route could be plotted, that very few if any, straight lines would appear in the plot and those that did appear would be very short.

He writes:

"The additions made to the point-to-point mileage are not only perfectly fair to Peary, but are on the contrary, considerably less than we could have added with full justification."

"It is only by daily observations for latitude and longitude that the actual route traveled by any party over the ice can be correctly ascertained, and this is apparently impossible to accomplish when the many other duties are considered, to say nothing of the fact that the sun is not available for daily observations. We have seen that the straight lines on Nansen's charts between various points cannot represent the actual route. Even with a perfect chart resulting from

A

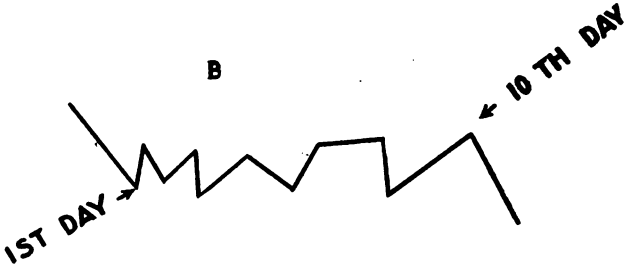


daily observations, we should at once be faced with a difficulty—the difficulty of determining exactly how much additional marching the drift, as shown by the zigzag nature of the chart, had really caused."

"For instance, the small diagram A, is an enlarged section of Nansen's chart over the Polar ice, and we will suppose the straight line section in the centre occupied ten days. The point on the left side of the line represents an observation taken at the beginning of the ten days, and the opposite point on the right an observation taken at the end of ten days. No observations had been taken during the ten days."

"Supposing, however, that observation had been taken upon each day of the ten, the route traveled might be represented by B."

"During the first two days of this imaginary ten days' charted journey, it will be noted that the wind was against the travelers, and very little advance was made. On the tenth day the wind was behind the travelers, and shows a greater distance covered. It is possible, however, that the actual marching

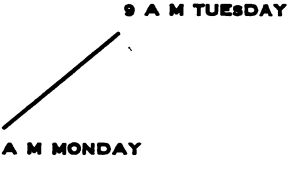


accomplished would be greater upon either of the first two days, than upon the tenth day. The imaginary chart B is possibly exaggerated, since it works out at something over 50 per cent in advance of the straight line section. Whether that is so or not, each one of those straight lines on the Nansen chart would show something like B, supposing that it was compiled upon the results of daily observations."

"The difficulty we should be faced with, even if possessed of such a chart, has also to be considered. It is estimated that a complete daily chart would show, if measured, a line of double the straight-line distance."

"But it does not necessarily follow, supposing any straight line journey is 500 miles, that a marcher would be compelled to march 1,000 miles. That is admitted, for we have seen on chart B that the wind is sometimes all in favor of the marcher. Taking the four points of the compass, however, the chances against windward drift being in favour of the marcher are 3 to 1.

If the full number of points of the compass are counted in, the chances against the wind being exactly in favour of the marcher are 31 to 1."

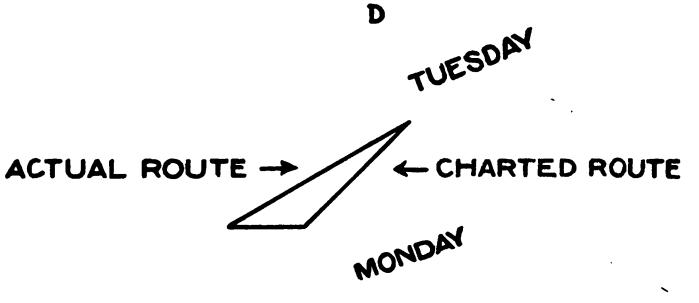


"In spite of the apparent exactitude which the possession of a daily chart would give, there is another difficulty which must prevent any explorer from tracing his exact route over the ice."

"The short line given on Chart C represents the first day's journey from the chart B and enlarged."

"It will be noticed that twenty-four hours have elapsed between the two observations, and during that time several hours were occupied in sleeping. There can be no evidence whether the explorers were blown back on the ice during the night, making the real twenty-four hours' chart something like the one shown as Chart D."

"In such a case, the sledge-party would have to march an extra distance which there would be no possibility of recording. There is, of course, the possibility of the night drift being in favour of the travelers, but the chances, as we have seen, are largely against it. It is therefore, impossible even with a chart of the route from daily observations, to determine with complete exactitude the extra distance actually marched owing to



windward drift. Fair deductions have to be made to enable one to estimate reasonable additions to point-to-point mileage."

"It should be noted by the reader, that the deviations from route just considered, are quite distinct from those allowed for in adding 30 per cent to the Commander's figures, and are not included in the 30 per cent in the absence of exact evidence. They are merely offered in support of the suggestion, that the 1,500 miles allowed for Commander Peary's journey, is probably a long way short of the distance to be covered on a journey from Cape Columbia to the Pole, and back to Cape Sheridan *via* Cape Columbia."

APPENDIX III

Extracts from Speech of Hon. R. B. Macon Delivered in the House of Representatives and Reported in Congressional Record of February 16, 1911

(The speech should be read in full as a valuable contribution to the record of the case).

"Mr. Chairman: He said in part:

"I realize that my efforts to defeat the passage of the bill to promote and retire Capt. Peary are herculean in their proportions when I consider that I have the combined influence of the administration, a paid lobby of the Peary Arctic Club, and the National Geographic Society to contend with, but having right upon my side as I see it, I am going to do everything in my power to defeat it and allow the American people to pass judgment upon what is said and done by those who are for and those who are against this species of legislation. I know it is said that the President has a judicial mind, and hence when he arrives at a conclusion concerning any matter that it is well founded, but in this particular instance I must respectfully take issue with that contention, because it appears from telegrams that passed between him and Dr. Cook on the 4th day of September, 1909, that he did not require much proof or use much thought before he discovered that Cook had discovered the North Pole. I will here incorporate a verbatim copy of the telegraphic correspondence between them in order that the world may understand that the President had discovered that Dr. Cook had discovered the pole before he ever heard of Peary's discovery of it.

(Laughter and applause.)

Copenhagen, September 4.

President:

The White House, Washington D. C.

I have the honor to report to the Chief Magistrate of the United States that I have returned, having reached the North Pole.

Frederick A. Cook.

Beverly, Mass., September 4.

Frederick A. Cook,
Copenhagen, Denmark:

Your dispatch received. Your report that you have reached the North Pole calls for my heartiest congratulations and stirs the pride of all Americans that this feat, which has so long baffled the world has been accomplished by the intelligent energy and wonderful endurance of a fellow countryman.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

When the committee concluded the bill to promote Peary, it requested the gentleman to appear before it with his proofs; but instead of appearing in person, he or some one for him, caused two members of the National Geographic Society, who as a part of a subcommittee of three had previously passed upon what they called his proofs, to appear for him; and at the hearings they stated, among other things, that they were friends of Peary and believed that he had discovered the pole before they *saw any of his proofs*. They stated that the only official records that they had of his having been to the pole were some astronomical and tidal observations and a line of soundings extending from Cape Columbia, where the tidal observations were made, to within about five miles of the pole; they said that all of the records presented by Peary in support of his alleged discovery of the pole could have been made up in the city of Washington, or at the point where he and Capt. Bartlett separated on their journey toward the pole; they said that Peary took only one latitudinal observation between the point where he left Capt. Bartlett and the North Pole, a distance of 133 miles, and that he did not make any longitudinal observations at all; they said that they could not have relied upon the report of the observations taken by Peary without any knowledge of the man or without any narrative; they said that nothing was presented to them to show that he ever told any member of his party that he had discovered the pole, and that no member of the party had been interrogated by the committee concerning the discovery, not even Henson; they stated that Peary's observations were taken with an artificial horizon, and they admitted that a slight modification had been made in it because it was not possible to get the sun at very low angles; they stated that the only examination made of the instruments Peary used in taking his observations was made at the station here in Washington; hat the findings of the subcommittee to the effect that Peary

had discovered the pole, when submitted to the board of managers of the National Geographic Society, were accepted without question, and had also been accepted by the Geographic Societies of London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Brussels, Antwerp, Geneva, Dresden, and St. Petersburg, without question or investigation of Peary's records by said societies, but admitted that they knew of no instance where a national geographic society had not accepted the findings of other geographic societies without question, except in the case of Dr. Cook.

The Naval Affairs Committee, not being satisfied with the information furnished it by these gentlemen, Messrs. Gannett and Tittman, insisted upon Mr. Peary's full report being laid before it, whereupon they were informed that that could not be done, for the reason that Mr. Peary had forbidden it on the ground that he had magazine contracts that would yield considerable revenue that would have to be sacrificed if his proofs were made public. The committee then decided that the matter should be indefinitely postponed until such time as Mr. Peary could furnish proofs of his discovery. Since that action was taken by the committee he has written many magazine articles, as well as a book telling his tale of the discovery, and, to say that his story is wonderful, is putting it mildly. I remember to have read a piece of fiction a few years ago, the scene of which was laid in a great monarchy, the capital city of which was located at the North Pole, and, to the best of my recollection, the extreme, unnatural, unreasonable, and unbelievable scenes and acts enumerated and described therein concerning an imaginary sovereignty and a mythic people did not excel the exaggerations contained in a later work of fiction known and described as *The North Pole*, by Robert E. Peary. I also remember to have read a novel that was written in the first person, whose hero was a bombastic upstart and braggart that never knew defeat or met an equal in any field of achievement, whether dealing with the hearts of women, the diplomacy of Presidents and statesmen in Washington, the strategy, courage, and alertness of Napoleon and his old guard in Paris, or the arts and wiles of crafty Indians in old St. Louis, and yet the self-exalted and self-puffed acts of the self-opinionated hero of that book do not in any way or in any degree excel the self-told deed of the wonderful hero that penned the narrative of *The North Pole*. I challenge anyone to read the book and dispute my diagnosis of it. And yet the Congress of the United States of America is being asked to jump the writer o

that book over the heads of many true, able, and efficient naval officers, who have stood by their posts of duty like the reputed Trojans of a distant age, and promote him to the high and coveted position of rear admiral, with a large salary and a hero's passport to every phase of human society.

In dealing with Mr. Peary's application for a promotion for the discovery of the North Pole, we ought to employ the same business rules that are used by business men in dealing with the ordinary affairs of life, and I submit that if that is done the gentleman will not receive his promotion until he has furnished better proofs of his discovery than he has up to this time. The burden is upon him to prove his claim by a preponderance of the testimony, if not beyond a reasonable doubt. We will suppose a case of the establishments of a land boundary where it is necessary to find a corner post and then examine his proofs and see whether or not he has made out his case. Let us take the North Pole as the post that it is necessary to discover before the line could be intelligently ascertained and then investigate Peary's proofs and see whether or not a favorable verdict could be rendered upon them by a fair and impartial jury. The Geographic Society has found a favorable verdict upon them, but according to the statements of the committee who investigated the case, they were not impartial. In fact, they had their minds made up as to what verdict they would render before they took their seats in the box. Common gratitude for gifts received by members of the Geographic Society of which Peary is a member, and their pride in having the world believe that a member of their exclusive body did find the Pole might reasonably be expected to influence the findings of that tribunal.

Let us therefore take a glance at their evidence before the Naval Affairs Committee once more and see whether or not unbiased minds ought to be bound by the findings of the only geographic society that has really passed upon Peary's proofs.

The witnesses state that they were friends of Peary and believed that he had discovered the Pole before they saw any of his proofs. That alone is enough to condemn their findings as being of the most biased character. They stated that the only official records they had of his having been to the Pole, when they were considering what verdict to render in regard to the discovery, were some astronomical and tidal observations and a line of soundings that he had made extending from Cape Columbia to within about 5 miles of the pole; that the records

presented by Peary of his soundings and tidal observations, as well as everything else submitted by him in support of his alleged discovery, could have been made up in the city of Washington, or at the point where he and Bartlett separated on their journey toward the Pole. That being the case, have we any evidence of the truthfulness of the records of the soundings and observations furnished the society by Peary, except his own unsupported statement in regard to the matter; and hence, if we accept that these soundings and observations were made, we must take the unsupported statement of Peary as a basis for our action.

These gentlemen told the committee that Peary took only one latitudinal observation between the point where he left Capt. Bartlett and the North Pole, a distance of 133 miles, and that he did not make any longitudinal observations at all. Scientists tell us that unless longitudinal observations are taken at intervals, when crossing the barren ice fields of the North, it is impossible to tell whether you are going directly north or south. Therefore it is silly to ask an intelligent body of men to accept the findings of this distinguished geographic society, in regard to so important and doubtful a discovery, when the discoverer did not know in what direction he was traveling. In fact, did not know whether he was going in or coming out. "Laughter". It is also absurd to ask anyone to believe that an explorer could travel over an unknown and badly broken ice field for a distance of 133 miles and "pop" right down on the Pole without having taken but one latitudinal observation in the entire distance traveled. They stated that they could not have relied upon the report of the observations taken by Peary without any knowledge of the man or without a narrative.

That being the case anyone can see that the society, in order to make the finding it did, considered the observations worthless of themselves and took the unsupported word of Peary with his narrative as a basis for their findings. They could not have given much faith and credit to the soundings that Peary reported to have made within 5 miles of the North Pole, for he himself says that while he was making it his wire broke and he lost both wire and weight. How in the name of reason could an imperfect sounding of that kind be valuable to anyone in arriving at an honest verdict concerning the discovery of the North Pole? They stated that the examination of the instruments Peary used on his trip was made at the railroad in Washington. Such an examination must have been

only casual, if not highly careless, and goes to show that in everything that was done by the society in connection with its ascertainment of the truth of the discovery of the Pole by Peary, was of the most casual, careless, and unreliable character. They stated that Peary's observations were taken with an artificial horizon and they admitted that a slight modification presumably by them, though they did not state that fact, had been made on the horizon because it was not possible to get the sun at very low angles.

Think of it, gentlemen, the very idea of asking Congress to accept as true observations that were taken with an artificial horizon near the North Pole that had to be modified by a society in the city of Washington when they were passing upon the facts presented to them by the great discoverer. They stated that nothing was presented to them to show that Peary ever told any member of his party that he had discovered the pole, and that no other member of the party had been interrogated by the committee concerning the discovery. When we consider that the nations of the world have been vieing with each other for centuries upon the subject of discovering the North Pole, it is unbelievable that one who had sought it for 23 years could discover it and keep the knowledge of so important a fact within his own breast for the period of time that it is claimed that Peary did before he made it known to even his traveling companions, companions who had helped him to make his trip, and without whom it would have been impossible to have made it. It is an insult to ask intelligent men to believe such rot. Gentlemen, if you were in the box upon your oaths to try the case of locating the boundary line that I have cited, could you say, upon the testimony of the witnesses who have testified up to this time, and the exhibits presented by them in support of their testimony, that the corner post had been located?

When the subcommittee was called together a few days ago for the purpose of further considering the bill to promote and retire this near hero (laughter), a motion was made to report the bill favorably, and I again demanded proofs of his discovery, whereupon Mr. Peary was invited to appear before the committee and furnish them. Some of the committee were in earnest in their desire for the real facts in the case, and insisted upon asking questions that they deemed pertinent, but the best information, or so-called proofs, that they could get from the alleged discoverer, when summed up, were a lot of guesses, speculations, assumptions, estimates, and evasions, and from

these four of the subcommittee of seven solemnly reported that the proofs were sufficient to establish the self-serving declaration of the gentleman to the effect that he had discovered the pole.

Mr. Peary admitted that he did not take a single longitudinal observation upon his entire trip and that he took no latitudinal observations from the point where Capt. Bartlett turned back to Camp Jessup, which he estimated to be a distance of about 130 miles and estimated to be within 3 miles of the pole. He admitted that he did not take a correct sounding between 85° 23′ and the North Pole, and that the needle of his compass was pointing toward the magnetic pole, which he stated was about 1200 miles distance from the North Pole. He stated that he traveled over an unknown, broken ice field, covered with high-pressure ridges and dangerous ice leads, a distance of 130 nautical miles in five days, which would be equal to about 35 statute miles per day—something that was never done by an Arctic explorer before in the history of the world—and built his own igloos while he was doing it, and, seemingly, expected men possessed of some degree of sense to believe that he made the trip under such difficulties and at such a rapid rate of speed, without making an observation of any kind, and his needle pointing in an entirely different direction, and yet made a bee line to the pole. Some of us who have tried to plow a straight furrow or lay a fence worm across a 10-acre field without stakes to guide us, or who have undertaken to ride across a broad prairie without a path or other object to direct our course, know how impossible his contention is when he insists that he could rush pell-mell over a rough, rugged, and broken ice course for a distance of 130 miles without an observation or object to guide him and go directly north to an imaginary point. He admitted that he had no charts, data or other scientific matter that would aid an explorer in any degree in his efforts to discover the pole; that that long sought-for object was as completely lost now as it was before he discovered it.

When we consider that latitudes run north and south and longitudes east and west, and that latitudes are measured by longitudes, it is impossible to believe that Peary, under the circumstances and conditions stated, could have any more known the correct latitude that he was in than a traveler would have known the number of furlongs that he had traveled in a day without counting the number of mileposts that he had passed on his way.

And yet we are asked to accept the bold statements of the

gentleman as God-given facts concerning everything that he claimed to have done on his journey, when they are contradicted by a combination of every reasonable physical and scientific impossibility. There is a limit to human prowess and endurance as well as to the knowledge of man, and when we are asked to accept such exaggerated statements and conclusions as this gentleman presents as a reason why he should be honored beyond all reasonable expectation, I think that his insistence should be accepted as an insult to the intelligence of the American people rather than an appeal to their sentimental generosity and their overweaning desire for hero worship. I yield to no man in my desire to do justice to every real hero who has done something for his country's good, but my contempt for fake heroes is supreme, no matter in what sphere they presume to operate. The world has had real heroes in every field of human activity that it has delighted to honor and their fame will live with time, but it has also been cursed with fake heroes who have flourished for a season and then like grass, would wither away. San Juan Hill had one of those for a time (laughter), but upon investigation it was shown that he would have been a Spanish prisoner instead of an American hero if it had not been for the intervention of Negro troops. (Laughter.) Less than a year ago a conquering hero of birds and beasts marched forth from the jungles of Africa (laughter) and crossed the European Continent with majestic tread and finally landed upon our own shore, where he was met by thousands of hero worshippers who received him as an uncrowned emperor, but it was not many moons before many of those who paid him homage upon that occasion bowed their heads in chagrin and tried to forget it. Thus it will be seen, Mr. Speaker, that it will not do to put bogus heroes upon pinnacles of fame, for it will not be long before they must come down.

A real hero would not accept honors at the hands of his people where there was a shadow of a cloud upon his title thereto; and we need no safer guide to disclose a fake hero than that of his being willing to accept a reward at the hands of a confiding and generous people when there is a shadow enveloping his title in any degree. Let us now see if the gentleman who is asking honors at the hands of the American people has a shadow resting around and about his claim to them, and if there is any reason for that cloud to exist, when considered in the light of his own contentions."

He and his friends were loud in discrediting Dr. Cook's story of the discovery of the pole and denounced him as a faker and his story as a "gold brick," and yet there are many damning coincidences in the stories told by each of them in regard to their alleged discoveries. Both of them had attempted to reach the North Pole before, and each of them on their last attempt positively asserted that they would discover it that time. There was nothing in their previous attempts to discover it that entitled them to express such confidence in the result of their last exploration. When each of them were well up toward the pole they got rid of their white companions and when they had gotten rid of their white witnesses they greatly increased their progress. They both say that the pole is a sea of ice, and they both made the same statements in regard to the pole, even to the peculiar color conditions surrounding it, and further, they confirmed each other in every particular as to the smoothness of the ice and the ability to travel rapidly after their white witnesses were gone. When all of these coincidences are considered together they must be accepted as impossibilities, unless it is conceded that they both reached the goal. It is more reasonable to believe, however, that when they were on their polar expedition together that failed, that it is possible, and even probable, that after their failure they discussed the practicability of an explorer freeing himself of white witnesses who could and would dispute him and claim the discovery of the pole without a reasonable possibility of the fake ever being found out than it is to believe that they each discovered it. Gentlemen, do you believe that either of them discovered it?

Cook, after exposure and reflection, has admitted that he may have lied about it, and it is the consensus of opinion of a large body of American citizens that the most manly thing left for Peary to do is to follow the example set by Cook, just as he coincidently paralleled the story told by Cook. But since he has failed, up to this time, to follow Cook's example, let us casually review his journey, as told by himself, and see what we can get out of it that will help us in our efforts to render a righteous verdict in his case. After reaching the land of the Eskimos he gathered up a number of natives and dogs to assist him in his discovery and proceeded to Cape Sheridan, where he abandoned the ship after a winter's rest, and commenced his overland journey to the pole, accompanied by 6 intelligent white men, who could take observations and make soundings, and 19 rant Eskimos, that he said would walk through hell if he

told them to do so, and a negro tool that he characterized as being as submissive to his will as the fingers of his own right hand.

Peary states in his book that on April 1, 1909, Capt. Bartlett, having traveled northward with him from Cape Columbia toward the pole, reached latitude 87° 47′, and that thereupon Capt. Bartlett turned back and returned to Cape Columbia. In the same book Peary proceeds to say that after Bartlett turned back he himself, accompanied by the Negro, Mat Henson, and four Eskimos, traveled that distance in about five days, ending at about 10 o'clock in the forenoon of April 6. At that time he stopped and made a camp, which he called Camp Jessup, and before taking any observations he "reckoned" that he was in the neighborhood of the pole. Thereupon he says, on page 207 of his book, that—

"At approximate local noon of the Columbia meridian I made the first observation at our polar camp. It indicated our position as 89° 57′."

This quoted statement is open to criticism, because no observation taken a few miles from the pole on April 6, 1909, could furnish any reliable foundation of ascertainment of latitude unless that observation was taken at the local noon, or some other definite point of local time. Mr. Peary's statements asume that he was on the Columbia meridian, and assume that "approximate local noon of the Columbia meridian" was near enough for practical purposes of observation and calculations.

But both of those assumptions were quite unjustifiable. Any observation taken in the polar regions at "approximate local noon" may vary so much from local noon as to vitiate the result. But Peary's assumption that he was on the Columbia meridian is a still more serious error, unless he had some means of knowing that he was on the Columbia meridian. And it appears in his book that he had no means of knowing that fact; and it also appears that he was, probably, not on the Columbia meridian at Camp Jessup. His assumption that that camp was on the same meridian as Cape Columbia implies that it was exactly north of Cape Columbia. But this implication has no foundation whatever in Peary's book. That portion of his journey between Cape Columbia and Camp Jessup, which occurred after Bartlett turned back, about 130 miles south from Camp Jessup, was made in broad daylight, for the sun never sets in that portion of the Polar Sea at any

time during the months of April, May, June, July, or August, and the moon was below the horizon of that portion of the polar sea during the first week of April, in 1909. There was, therefore, only two conceivable guides which Peary could use to guide him from the point where Bartlett turned back directly to the North Pole. One of those guides would consist in making frequent observations upon the sun and the other would consist in following the guidance of the mariner's compass. But the mariner's compass in that portion of the polar sea would never point north. It would point somewhere between south and southwest, because it would point toward the magnetic pole, which is in that direction from that region. But this pointing of the mariner's compass to the magnetic pole would continually vary between south and southwest as Peary traveled northward from the point where Bartlett turned back; and he could not know the degree of that variation at any particular time without knowing how far north he had traveled since he last consulted the compass, and without also knowing whether during that part of his journey he had unintentionally varied east or west from the due north course. For this reason the mariner's compass would not constitute a reliable guide as to what course to take in traveling northward from the point where Bartlett turned back toward the pole.

The only other conceivable guide to follow in trying to travel directly north would be observations of altitude of the sun above the horizon, or below the zenith of the sky, from time to time during the five days that he was traveling northward. But any observed altitude of the sun would not guide Peary to the latitude of his point of observation without first guiding him to the longitude of that point, because the time in the local day would depend upon the local longitude, and because the true latitude occupied by the observer could be learned only by deduction from the true time of the local day. In the region Peary was traversing the sun is higher at noon than it is at 10 o'clock of the local day, as it is in other regions of the earth, and therefore no calculation can be based upon its altitude at any particular moment, unless the observer knows at what particular local time he is making the observation.

Now, it appears in Peary's book that on his way north, from the point where Bartlett turned back to Camp Jessup, he took no observations whatever with a view of ascertaining the longitude and thereby to ascertain the local time. On the contrary, it appears that he simply assumed that, whenever he

took an observation, he was exactly north of Cape Columbia, and that when his chronometer, which was set to the time of the Columbia meridian, indicated noon it was also noon where he was. On that gratuitous and unfounded assumption he appears to have taken observations of the sun at 12 o'clock, according to his Columbian chronometer, and then gratuitously assuming that the sun was at its highest point above the horizon he calculated what his altitude was at the time of taking that observation without bothering his mind about longitudinal observations at all.

It results, therefore, from the foregoing explanations, that Peary did not and could not travel directly northward from the point where Bartlett turned back, for he utilized no means whatever of knowing which way to walk over the ice to reach the pole from that point. He was therefore as likely to travel along a line which, if extended, would take him to the Eastern Hemisphere 10, 20, or 30 miles to the right of the pole, or to travel along a line which, if extended, would take him 10, 20, or 30 miles to the left of the pole, as he was to travel along a line taking him direct to the pole. And if he should happen to travel along the wrong line and travel 10, 20 or 30 miles, and then happen to "reckon" that he was out of the proper track and deviate therefrom to correct his error, he might deviate in the right direction or he might deviate in the wrong direction.

On the whole, if it is assumed that he did reach, in five days, a point about 130 nautical miles north of where Bartlett turned back, it is absolutely certain that he did not and could not travel that distance in a straight line, and the deviations from directness which must have characterized that journey must have increased its distance of 130 miles on an air line to a much greater distance, and that much greater distance may have reached 150 or 175 miles, or perhaps 200 miles. Thus the difficulty which has always existed in believing that he traveled in five days 130 nautical miles northward from the point where Bartlett turned back is much increased by this explanation, so that whoever believes that Peary reached 89° 57′ at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of April 6, 1909, must also believe that he traveled at least 30 miles a day, and perhaps 40 miles a day, on the average, during that time.

Now, in view of the fact that no other arctic explorer in history ever traveled even 100 miles over the polar ice in five days, and in view of the fact that Peary was unfortunately disabled by the absence of all of his toes, except one little toe,

from making great speed across the ice of the Polar Ocean, it is very difficult to believe that he did during those five days travel over that ice nearly twice as fast as anybody else ever did. The only view upon which such a belief could possibly be founded would be upon the theory that Peary did not personally walk much of the time, if at all, during these five days, but was simply hauled upon one of the sledges driven by Mat Henson and the Esquimos. But that view is met by the fact that he states in his book that he walked much of the time, and, indeed, that he lead the march after Bartlett turned back.

It appears in chapter 32 of Peary's book that after taking his observations "at approximate local noon" of the Columbia meridian time at Camp Jessup, of April 6, 1909, he turned in for a few hours of absolutely necessary sleep, but that he was awake again at 6 p. m. of Columbia meridian time, when, however, he was prevented by clouds from taking any observations. Thereupon he took two Esquimos and, without Henson, "pushed on" an estimated distance of 10 miles. At the end of that trip he says that he took a series of observations at midnight of Columbia meridian time, and that those observations indicated that he was then beyond the pole.

This statement implies very plainly that Peary passed from the Western to the Eastern Hemisphere during that 10-mile trip, and was, therefore, on the opposite side of the pole from Camp Jessup. But it is an open secret that the scientific gentlemen who have made friendly computations in behalf of the National Geographic Society from Peary's recorded observations have found that the observations which he says he took at the end of the 10-mile journey indicated that the point was in the Western Hemisphere and was farther away from the pole than Camp Jessup, being southwest therefrom. Therefore it plainly appears that Peary did not know at Camp Jessup what was the true direction of the track which he had traveled shortly before reaching that point. He evidently supposed that that backward trail extended from Camp Jessup directly to the south, and that if he took his 10-mile trip in the opposite direction he would cross from the Western to the Eastern Hemisphere at or near the pole. But it now appears that the attempt he made to extend his 10-mile track in the same direction resulted in his traveling toward the southwest instead of toward the pole. And if we assumed, as we apparently should, that the 10-mile trip from Camp Jessup was taken on a line with the trail by which Camp Jessup was reached we will

see that that trail did not come from the south, but from the northeast. The only way to reconcile the various statements made by Peary and deduced from the figures by his friends is to assume that after Bartlett turned back he wandered over that portion of the polar ocean which has a diameter of about 260 miles, with the pole at the center, without knowing where he was at any particular time, and that at the end of this wandering he happened to make a camp within about 3 miles of the pole. But nobody can know how far that camp was from the pole, except upon the basis of the figures which he had put down in his note-book of the apparent elevation of the sun at a time which he gratuitously assumed to be "local noon," but which may have been 10 o'clock or 11 o clock before local noon or 1 o'clock or 2 o'clock after local noon, so far as Peary knew or could know. This total uncertainty of the local time when he took his observations at Camp Jessup quite vitiates any records he made at that time of the apparent elevation of the sun.

The expert who deducted the latitude from those figures and testified before the Naval Affairs Committee to its calculation and result may have made his calculations correctly, but he could not know that the basis of his calculations was correct, for Peary did not present to them any evidence of the local time at which he made his observations. Of course, it is difficult for any observer, no matter how skillful he may be or what instruments he may have, to ascertain local time at any point 50 or 100 miles from the pole. But the difficulty of proving any particular proposition can not be invoked as a substitute for proof of that proposition when it is necessary to know the truth of the matter. The necessity to ascertain local time in order to ascertain latitude or longitude 50 or 100 miles from the pole does not apply to the recognition of presence at the pole itself. If an observer were to reach that point upon the earth's surface, there is a method by which the fact of such presence could be positively proved without paying any attention to local time, and, of course, without paying any attention to longitude. That method would consist simply in measuring the shadow of a man every 2, 4, or 6 hours during any 24 hours of clear weather, by reference to any chronometer set to Columbian time or to any other time. If this method were to be pursued at the pole, all the shadows throughout the 24 hours would be almost exactly of equal length, though mathematically the length would vary slightly and gradually diminish in April from time to time during the 24 hours.

If Peary had been at the pole on April 6 and 7, in 1909, all he had to do to enable himself to afterwards prove that fact to the world would have been to have had Henson stand at a particular place on the ice at 6 p. m. of April 6, according to either of his chronometers, and again six hours later, according to the same chronometer, and again six hours later, according to the same chornometer, and once more at 6 p. m., according to the same chronometer, on April 7.

If he had done so, he could have measured Henson's shadow with a rope, or anything else that would neither contract nor expand, and having ascertained that all four shadows were almost exactly of the same length, he would have known that he was at the pole. Then he could have made a record of that transaction and explained it to Henson, and have shown the record to him, and then, when they returned to the United States, they could have corroborated each other in verifying the record by telling that simple test. If Peary had used that test with that result, the whole world would have been convinced of his presence at the North Pole, because that is the only spot on the surface of the globe where the shadows cast by an upright body, from time to time during 24 hours, would be of almost exact equal length, except that the same condition would be true at the South Pole in October, but not in April.

Mat Henson is said to be a fairly intelligent colored man, but Peary does not claim to have said or shown him anything in the vicinity of the North Pole which would enable Henson to corroborate or contradict anything Peary reported relevant to his latitude at any particular time or relevant to his presence at the pole at any time. Every man who asks a court to accept his version of any question of fact is required by law to furnish the best available evidence to support his contention. And if he asks the court to decide the issue in his favor from his own uncorroborated statement, when the circumstances are such that corroboration is practical, if his statement were true, the absence of corroboration weighs heavily against his contention.

Peary's alleged presence at the North Pole in April, 1909, is unsupported by any evidence whatever, except his own statement that certain observations on the sun on April 6 and 7 were correctly recorded in his notebook. That statement does not amount to evidence, because it is only a self-serving statement made by a man in his own behalf, and also because, even if the observations which he made were correctly recorded in his notebook no man can deduce his presence near the pole

from those observations for the simple reason that he did not take his local longitude into account at all nor have any means of knowing the local time at which he took any observation whatever.

Again, referring to the friendly computations, recently made by the gentlemen in behalf of the National Geographic Society, from Peary's recorded observations, it will be observed, from the hearings recently had by the Naval Affairs Committee, that they were made by a Mr. Duvall, but were presented to the committee by Mr. Hugh C. Mitchell, who claimed to have verified them after Mr. Duvall made them, and who claimed that the observations furnished by Mr. Peary, from which the computations were made, could not have been made in Washington, New York, or Boston. But it will be observed that before Mr. Mitchell was allowed to make his statement before the committee in regard to the computation of the observations, Mr. O. H. Tittmann, a member of the committee of the Geographic Society, who passed upon Peary's proofs and stated that his observations could be faked in the city of Washington, had to stand sponsor for Mr. Mitchell; and hence I am inclined to think that an unbiased person can not afford to give much credit to the statement of Mr. Mitchell when viewed by the fact that Mr. Peary's friends upon the committee would not permit him to be heard until he had been vouched for by Mr. Tittman, who had stated before the same committee that Peary's proofs could be faked. It will be borne in mind that the computations presented by Mr Mitchell must have been made at least 20 months after the alleged discovery of the pole was said to have been made and therefore must be received in the light of an afterthought, and we all know what "after thoughts" mean when they are used for the purpose of supplying something that was lacking in the original.

Mr. Mitchell was cautious enough to say, however, in response to a question as to whether it was possible to have made the figures embraced in the observations submitted by Peary in Washington, New York, or Boston, that that was a matter of opinion, but that he believed all men who had had much experience in computing would agree with him that such things could not be faked. He admitted that Peary's observations were imperfect. In fact, stated that there was no such thing as perfect observations, but stated that if he had enough inaccurate observations he could figure out correct observations. Such statements, I am sure, will not appeal to anyone who

thinks for himself, unless the degree of inaccuracy of the observations is known. In fact, Mr. Mitchell's testimony from start to finish indicates rank presumption and wild guesswork concerning everything he did in connection with the computation of the observations submitted by Peary. He even guessed at the time of the chronometer that Peary had with him at the pole when he knew that "time" at that point was the most material feature connected with the observations made during the 30 hours that Peary claims to have been at the pole. He contended that he had found Peary's time at the pole in face of the fact that experts had examined the chronometer before Peary left New York and predicted that it would run slow, but when returned to the same experts for examination, after Mr. Peary's return, it disclosed that it had actually gained time. And yet, upon such guesswork, wild speculations, and unreasonable assumptions, we are asked to find that Peary was at the pole according to the computations of Mr. Mitchell. No; I will not say "at the pole," because, with all of his guessing, speculations, and assumptions, he could not get him nearer than 1 6-10 miles of the pole.

I am advised that in order to obtain correct observations at or near the pole the time must be accurate and that the sun's altitude must be correctly fixed, and that such timepieces as Peary carried under ordinary conditions were not correct enough for ordinary observations, and that in the Arctic the conditions are extraordinary; that the instruments for weeks are thrown about upon the rough trail of pack ice and that the delicate mechanism is subjected to temperatures ranging from that of the body, at plus 98° F., to 75° below the freezing point, a change of over 100° F., that under such conditions the expansion and contraction of metals render accuracy impossible, and hence any pretended ascertainment of time at the pole after a journey of over 400 miles over a rough course of ice and a hard climate would have to be based upon the wildest kind of a guess. With the guesswork time that Peary claimed to have had with him at the pole he claims to have taken some of his observations when the sun was less than 7° above the horizon.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair desires to notify the gentleman from Arkansas that he has consumed one hour of his time. He may proceed.

Mr. MACON. Thank you. Well-informed navigators insist that observations of the sun when less than 7° above the

horizon, under the best of conditions, in temperate climates where centuries have taught us rules for correction, can not be considered seriously. It seems that in the Arctic this problem assumes a still more serious aspect.

The temperature is low and the air, over a moving sea of ice, is charged with frozen humidity, and the atmosphere is also arranged in stratas of varying temperature and density, all of which so distorts the sun's rays that no correct allowance can be made for refraction, and it is insisted that this is not a matter of slight inaccuracy, but can be a matter of degrees. Therefore, because of imperfect time and unknowable refraction, we can not regard observations of the sun as being of value in proving a position on the polar sea. It is insisted that if an observer is far enough north to have only 7° for a meridian altitude of the sun, that it is impossible for one to get his horizon. They contend that his visible horizon is obstructed by land or hummocks of ice, or both, and, of course, is useless and that he can not bring an artificial horizon into play with a 7° altitude, for at such an angle he would only get a streak of light across it, but that he would have to have an altitude of 17° to 20° to get a true reflection of the sun's disk under favorable weather conditions. Thus it will be seen that with guess-work time any observations taken at such low altitude as Peary claims to have taken his, renders them within the impossibilities.

Explorers, navigators, and scientists also contend that latitude observations on the sun can be manufactured and can not be detected unless there should be a contradiction or an error in the distance traveled between stations, but that a reasonably shrewd person could adjust the distances so that they would tally with the observations. They also contend that the admiralty chart shows that at Cape Columbia the magnetic needle makes an angle of 136° with the true north, and that this may vary as one moves toward the pole, and hence it would be impossible to use the needle with any confidence unless its variations were tested on the way, and that if the tests were made by the sun at midnight an error of the chronometer would give a wrong direction. Therefore, when we consider the contentions of these men of learning and experience, how unreasonable it is to ask the public to believe that Peary's reports of his straight and rapid travel to the pole, of his observations and soundings, are of such a character as to carry conviction of his discovery of the pole.

Let us pursue his so-called proofs a little further and see what we can find in them that has not been disclosed.

He states that he remained on and about the pole from 6 a. m. of April 6, 1909, until 4 p. m. of April 7, when he began his homeward journey; that he took a number of observations while there; that the weather during his stay at the pole was calm and cloudless, but two pictures of the flags that he hoisted while there, that appear on pages 284 and 290 of his book, contradict his statement as to the calmness of the weather, for they appear to have been struck by a gale, and those that appear on page 298 contradict his statement as to the clearness of the weather, for they appear to have been taken when the sky was overcast by clouds.

His statement as to conditions being "calm and cloudless" are significant when we consider the fact that it was necessary for them to be so if any scientific value is to be attached to the observations that he claimed to have made. But of all the remarkable and impossible things that he claims to have done seems to have been done "between sleeps," while he was at or near the pole. He says that after taking an observation at noon on April 6 he took a short nap, as he was immensely fatigued, but could not sleep long. At 6 p. m. of April 6, same day, he was up and out again. After this sleep he says he went 10 miles beyond the camp, reaching there at midnight, where he took observations and returned to the camp again at 6 a. m. of April 7; thence started out again 8 miles toward the right and returned in time to make a noon observation and to start back for land at 4 p. m., taking a sounding of 1,500 fathoms, and reaching camp 26 in good time on April 7. This is reckoned by explorers and navigators to make a total distance of 72 miles traveled between sleeps, which is equal to 82.8 statute miles, and, allowing 10 per cent for detours, and so forth, would make 91.8 statute miles traveled between sleeps, when, according to his own statement, he was so fatigued the day before that he could not sleep very much, and it must be understood that, while doing this, he alleges that he stopped long enough to make 13 observations and an attempted sounding of 1,500 fathoms. Is it possible for anyone to believe that a human being could travel over a distance of 91.8 miles, over broken fields of ice, make 13 observations, and make a sounding of 1¾ miles deep between sleeps? I insist that such a thing can not be done, and no one who has any knowledge of the limitations

upon human endurance will for a moment contend that it can be done.

There are some things that we can not afford to believe; if we do, it would be a reflection upon our intelligence. For instance, if a hundred witnesses were to swear that they saw a man stand flatfooted and leap over the Capitol Building we would know at once that the testimony was false because the feat would be a physical impossibility. If I were to walk into the House some morning, just as the Speaker rapped his gavel for order, and inform Members that I had walked to Baltimore and back since breakfast, and were to exhibit a copy of the Baltimore Sun as proof of my statement, no one would believe it because they would know that the act was a physical impossibility, and so when Mr. Peary says he traveled the great distance that he did between sleeps, made 13 observations and a sounding of 1,500 fathoms, we at once know that it could not be true because such a thing would be beyond human endurance and accomplishment.

According to Peary's statements before the Naval Affairs Committee, his movements, after Bartlett turned back were as uncertain, unstable, and as unreliable as the wind. He took no observations except at or near the pole, and hence his every act or movement was based upon guesses and estimates. Everything seemed to be of a negative or indefinite character from the time Bartlett turned back until his final appearance before the Geographic Society in Washington, that passed upon his proofs.

He said that he did not remember to have told any one of his discovery upon his return except Bartlett, and I have heard of no one who ever heard of his having told Bartlett of it until he made the statement before the committee. Messrs. Gannett and Tittman said that there was no evidence before them of his ever having told anyone that he had discovered the pole until he flashed his wire to New York to that effect, and that was only done after he had heard that Cook had reported, a short time before, that he had discovered the pole. Gentlemen will bear in mind that he insisted that this was the crowning glory of his life, and most important event of his existence and yet there is no evidence except his self-serving statement, that he had ever disclosed his discovery to anyone until after he heard that Dr. Cook claimed to have discovered the pole. He says that he met Mr. Whitney on his way home, but that he does not remember to have talked to him about his discovery at all and

that he does not remember whether Whitney even asked him anything about it.

Think of it, gentlemen, this man had been engaged in the crowning act of his life and claims to have been successful, and he knew that Mr. Whitney, himself a sportsman and explorer, knew that he had been in search of the pole for nearly a year, and then, when he met him in an isolated land, where men would be only too glad to converse about the things that were nearest to their hearts, he does not remember to have even hinted at the matter to Whitney or whether Whitney hinted at the matter to him. Do you think that an act of an ordinary man in dealing with the supreme affair of his life?

He does not remember whether the National Geographic Society requested him to submit his proofs or whether he asked that they be considered by it; when it was agreed that he was to appear and submit them, he did not even remember what time of day he reached Washington; that he did not remember when or where he first saw the members of the Geographic Society; that he thought he saw them at Admiral Chester's house in the evening of the day he arrived in Washington, but did not remember who was there. He said that he thought he submitted his journal that he kept upon his trip to the Society for its consideration, but that he did not remember whether any of them read it through or not. Messrs. Gannett and Tittman stated that the reports they had before them when they passed upon his case were made upon independent slips of paper, and they did not remember to have seen any diary or journal. Peary stated that he did not remember when the committee examined his instruments, but that he thought it was done at night at the railroad station in Washington; but he did not remember to what extent the examination was made. Think of it, gentlemen. Do you think that if you were trying to have the crowning act of your life consummated that you would not have some definite knowledge about anything that was done in connection with its consummation? Do you really believe that this man knew nothing of a positive character about the matter, or rather, do you believe that he was afraid to make positive statement, for fear he would be flatly contradicted by others, and in that way his whole story repudiated to the letter?

The gentleman exhibited to the committee a little book that he said was the journal or a diary of his trip; said that he prepared it in his igloo each night before retiring, but he refused to leave the book with the committee, saying that it had never

been out of his possession, and that he did not care for it to get out of his possession, and when one considers its clean appearance, after having made the long journey that he claims to have made, and under the trying conditions that he claims to have existed, and under the circumstances surrounding his opportunity for preparing and keeping it, no very great surprise could be felt as to why he did not want it to get out of his possession. He claimed that his chief food was pemmican, and that it consisted of about 30 per cent grease; that he held it with his hand when he ate it, and hence grease and smear must have been left on his hand, and yet he prepared his diary with that hand and never made a single smear upon a single page of the entire book while he was doing it. Such a thing may have been possible, but I do not believe it.

It is much more reasonable to believe that he prepared it in some office after his return home than it is to believe that he prepared it in the igloo under the circumstances and conditions described by him. Another strange and unbelievable part of his narrative, as detailed in the hearings before the committee, was that he did not discover any current in the Arctic ocean. From the descriptions he gave from many leads he encountered on his trip, caused by the parting of ice 20 or 25 feet thick, it was supposed that a current of water beneath the ice caused such a pressure as it swept along that it parted the ice and made the leads, but he insisted that the thick ice was parted by the wind; but full credit can not be given to that statement because of the discredit that he himself placed upon it by saying that when they were going to the pole they marked their track at intervals by placing tin cans upon ice ridges, so that they could readily see them on their return trip.

It is absurd to think that a wind that was strong enough to break ice 20 or 25 feet thick could not blow every can off of an ice ridge that it was possible for his party to place upon them, and not only blow them off, but blow them so far and in so many directions as to completely destroy their efficacy as guides upon the homeward trail. If his story about the wind being powerful enough to part the ice is true, then the story about the cans setting upon ice ridges for several days unmolested by the wind can not be true. But in order to understand the significance of both stories it is necessary to know that the ice-parting story was told to overcome the suggestion of a current in the sea that would interfere with his making a sounding 1¾ miles deep, and the story about the tin cans setting

upon ice ridges for several days was told to explain how it was that he could travel so rapidly on his homeward journey, they being used as guide posts, and in that way preventing any loss of time in a search for his trail.

I have given more time and thought to this alleged discovery than I have to any other public question that I remember to have undertaken to investigate in my whole life, and the more I have investigated and studied the story the more thoroughly convinced have I become that it is a fake pure and simple. There is an old saying that it takes many men of many minds to make a world, and in order to place a true estimate upon the acts of men it is necessary for us to take into account the different dispositions of the "many men of many minds" mentioned in the old adage. I have had some men to tell me that they believed Peary discovered the pole, because they could not understand how a man in his position in life would make a claim of having discovered it unless he had really done so. That kind of a statement presupposes that men occupying responsible positions in life always tell the truth about their achievements, but we can not afford to accept that kind of a supposition as a true guide about the acts of men, it makes no difference how important the position or how high the standing held by them.

APPENDIX IV

ANALYSIS
OF
MR. MITCHELL'S STATEMENTS
BEFORE THE
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
WITH
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS
BY
W. J. ARMBRUSTER
FEBRUARY 19, 1911.

ANALYSIS OF MR. MITCHELL'S STATEMENTS

IT is not unfair, in examing the testimony of a witness, to inquire whether the witness has any interest in the matter at issue. Mr. O. H. Tittmann was one of the prime leaders of the movement to have Mr. Peary declared the discoverer of the North Pole. Mr. Tittmann was a member of the committee of the National Geographic Society which so hastily and unscientifically declared in favor of Mr. Peary, and is so declared on Mr. Peary's statements alone, having absolutely no corroborative proof of any kind whatever, personal or otherwise. This committee, and the National Geographic Society, knowing its laches and guilt, are interested in covering up their wrongful acts.

Mr. Tittmann testified to the great ability of Mr. Hugh Mitchell, one of the computers in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, stating that he considered Mr. Mitchell unsurpassed in that line of work anywhere. We will see. Mr. Tittmann is the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Practically, the relation of employer and employee exists between him and Mr. Mitchell.

In examining Mr. Mitchell's testimony, it is found that throughout his examination, he is guilty of substituting one

problem for another. He diverts the minds of the committee from the vital issue to one that is absolutely unimportant. He has directed their minds to minute errors of latitude, which are of no value whatever and have no bearing on the real issue and strangely, more than suspiciously, completely avoids the factors of longitude, which, when examined in connection with Mr. Peary's other statements, topple to utter ruin the structure devised by him.

The whole foundation of Mr. Mitchell's presentment is based upon the condition that he accepts Mr. Peary's statements that Mr. Peary was at a certain place. He accepts Mr. Peary's observations—within trifling corrections, of no importance whatever—as having actually been made at the time and place claimed by Mr. Peary, because he does not believe an observation can be faked. This is equivalent to saying that skilled astronomers cannot within reasonable limit of error predict or calculate in advance the occurrence of an eclipse.

A peculiar anomaly arises from this holding of Mr. Mitchell:

(a). *If Dr. Cook should submit one or two polar observations with which no serious fault can be found, then, according to Mr. Mitchell, Dr. Cook reached the Pole.* According to Mr. Mitchell, all that Dr. Cook has to do is to submit one or two reasonably accurate polar latitude observations and that will be sufficient proof that he was at the Pole, and *Mr. Mitchell will be bound by his own testimony as well as those who have held similarly.*

(b). If it can be shown that Mr. Peary contradicts himself so forcibly in his observations as to thoroughly impugn his claims, then to that extent Mr. Mitchell is justified in his opinion that such observations cannot be faked, but it would be the very party the validity of whose claims he argues for, who would be found to have perpetrated a fake.

A further anomaly arises in this. Suppose an explorer, wishing to fake an observation, either figures it out for himself, or has some expert computer make one for him, then submits it privately to a few more expert computers, friends of his, for examination and correction before publication. When the observation is published, it has already run the gauntlet of the experts, and, being perfect, no fault can be found with it. And wise men of Congress swallow such balderdash.

The principal specific statements of Mr. Mitchell will now be examined in detail.

1. Mr. Mitchell said, in answer to Mr. Engelbright, page 136 of the Committee Record,

"From the two observations six hours apart, *i. e.*, the one on April 7, at 6 a. m. and on the same day at noon) I could determine both latitude and longitude."

This certainly is not a very accurate statement coming from an expert. It is very misleading. Mr. Mitchell could only take the record of observations submitted by Mr. Peary and subject them to niceties of corrections based on corrected time of the chronometers, errors in instruments, etc., all minor and unimportant except for higher science purposes. No one would quarrel with an explorer for such errors. Here the niceties of calculations are confused with the question of whether the claimed observations of Mr. Peary have any basis of fact.

All the answers by Mr. Mitchell to questions of the rate of loss or gain in the chronometers apply merely to matters of latitude and show for themselves they are of no importance, and too insignificant to affect the question one way or the other. They do not apply to the question of longitude, and go merely to the point of how accurate Mr. Peary's latitude claims are, *providing they are true, but have no bearings whatever on the question of whether they are true.* They are altogether foreign to the issue.

2. Mr. Mitchell says again, referring to the plot made by him of Mr. Peary's route, page 136 of the Record:

"The point marked Camp Jessup is the result of that computation of two sets of observations on the morning of the 7th—*one at 6:40 o'clock and the other at 12:40, Columbia Meridian Time.*"

Mr. Mitchell plainly has blundered in stating that the times 6:40 and 12:40 are Columbia Meridian (70 West) time. The time was 6:00 and 12:00 Columbia meridian time, the 6:40 and 12:40 referring to 60th meridian time. Mr. Peary in his statements uses Columbia meridian or 70 West time while the fac-simile of his claimed observations show by comparison they are 60 West time. This is shown by the following and also proves conclusively that Mr. Mitchell is in complete error in the standard of time used by him for his computations.

(a). Mr. Peary says in his book, page 286, referring to

the claimed observation of April 6, that it was made "*at approximate local noon of the Columbia meridian.*" The fac-simile of the claimed observation of this date, page 362, gives the time as 12:50, plainly 60th meridian time.

(b). Referring to the claimed observation at midnight of the 6th, Mr. Peary says, on page 25 of the Committee record:

"I went what I judged to be 10 miles farther on in the same direction and took another series of observations *at midnight of the time I was carrying which I call Columbia meridian time.*"

Midnight Columbia meridian time is the equivalent of 12:40 in 60th meridian time.

(c). Referring to the claimed observation of noon April 7, Mr. Peary says:

On Page 290 of his book:—

"Again I returned to the camp in time for a final and completely satisfactory series of observations on April 7 at noon Columbia meridian time."

Therefore, *not 12:40 Columbia meridian time, as Mr. Mitchell puts it.*

On page 40 of the Committee record,

"Spent day with light sledge, double team going East and West. *Noon* observation and looking for a crack where a sounding would be possible."

That is, the observation was taken *at noon*, not 12:40. The noon being 12:00 Columbia meridian (70 West) time; not 12:40 Columbia meridian time as Mr. Mitchell puts it, but 12:40 60th meridian time. The fac-simile of this claimed observation, page 292 of the book, gives the time as 12:40 p. m. which, to correspond with noon Columbia meridian time, must be 60th meridian West time.

Such an error in the standard of time for his computations should not have been made by Mr. Mitchell, as the slightest care taken in the comparisons shows plainly that Mr. Peary uses local or Columbia meridian (70 West) time in his statements, while the claimed observations, to correspond, must be 60th meridian time.

Mr. Mitchell, as expert computer, makes a great ado of nice-

ties in calculations, minute matters based on an error of ten minutes in the time of the chronometer, yet himself in his assumption of the standard time errs to an extent four times as great as the total error of the chronometer for the whole period elapsed from departure from New York to the date of the claimed observation at the Pole.

All of Mr. Mitchell's computations and corrections are vitiated and hopelessly over-balanced, and rendered worthless, inaccurate and far more erroneous than the error due to the difference between the chronometer and true time.

3. Next, Mr. Mitchell, referring to the observations by Mr. Peary at Camp Jessup, says, on page 136 of the report, referring to the observations by Mr. Peary at Camp Jessup:

"A snapshot of the sun, a single altitude of one limb, was obtained on April 6, when the sun was on meridian 67½° West."

The assertion by Mr. Mitchell "when the sun was on meridian 67½° West" is open to some question. Mr. Peary says this observation was taken "at approximate local noon of the Columbia meridian." A man certainly knows whether his watch indicates 12 or not. When he says "approximate" he certainly does not mean "exact" noon. Therefore, referring to the fac-simile of Mr. Peary's claimed observation, on page 362 of his book, we find that the time is 12:50 (60th meridian time). Minus 10 minutes for averaged fastness of the chronometer up to time of observation gives correct time 12:40 p.m., 60th meridian time. This would place the sun exactly on the 70th meridian West, as the ratio is 1 degree for 4 minutes of time, 40 minutes equal 10 degrees, 60 plus 10 equals 70° West.

4. Mr. Mitchell says further, referring to the observation mentioned under 3:

"The principal value of this observation is to check the observations of the next day, April 7, when two complete sets of observations were obtained six hours apart in time, and giving a good determination of the geographic position of Camp Jessup as follows:

Latitude 89° 55′ 23″.
Longitude 137° 00′ West.
This places Camp Jessup 4.6 geographical miles from the North Pole."

The latitude given by Mr. Mitchell is again, not one proven in any manner, but merely Mr. Peary's figures corrected by Mr. Mitchell to the 10 minutes the chronometer was found to be fast. (Vitiated however by the wrong standard of time assumed by Mr. Mitchell). In nowise does it, or can it apply to the question of the truth of Mr. Peary's observations.

For instance: A man can walk 25 miles per day, walking 12 hours per day; in 20 days he can walk 500 miles. Mr. Mitchell finds that the man's watch is not a perfect time keeper, that it runs 5 minutes per day fast. Therefore, when actual transpired time in only 23 hours 55 minutes, it follows that the man did not walk 25 miles per day, but only 24.913 miles per day, as he walked only 11 hours 57½ minutes per day instead of 12 hours, and he covered in all 498.26 miles in the 20 days, consequently he did not reach the coveted goal but arrived within 1.74 miles of the "magic" point. Well! this man didn't; he is only a hypothetical man. *Mr. Mitchell mistakes the sum or problem for the accomplished fact.*

In stating that the observation of the sun on April 6, and the two observations on April 7, gave a good determination of the geographic position of Camp Jessup as being in latitude 89° 55′ 23″ and longitude 137° 00′ West, Mr. Mitchell is guilty of a grossly reprehensible act, for absolutely nothing is given in said observations regarding the longitudinal position of the camp. It is nothing less than a culpable intrusion by Mr. Mitchell of vitally important matter to fill a serious void in Mr. Peary's work.

5. Quoting again from Mr. Mitchell's testimony, on page 137 of the record:

"After taking the observations at noon of the 6th at Camp Jessup, the expedition marched straight ahead 10 geographic miles and took a set of observations on the sun, *the time being midnight, sixtieth meridian (West) time.*"

In this, Mr. Mitchell is again in error. The time, according to Mr. Peary, was midnight *Columbia meridian (70th West) time.* The time, *in 60th meridian West time was 12:40 p. m. not midnight.* This has been clearly pointed out under 2.

6. The continuation of the quotation under 5 is as follows:

"This line of travel has been plotted, assuming that its direction is directly opposite to the direction of the sun when the noonsight of April 6 was obtained."

Had Mr. Mitchell compared the results of the traverse of April 6 and 7, as he outlines it in his chart, with the statements of Mr. Peary, he would have found the same to be in hopeless conflict and discord. This has already been fully covered in the writer's analysis of Mr. Peary's polar statements. It will there be seen that Mr. Mitchell's assumed traverse is fatal and contradictory to every statement made by Mr. Peary regarding his polar latitude movements. Section 2 of the analysis should be referred to for a full explanation of the hopeless variance between Mr. Mitchell's assumed route and Mr. Peary's statements. But five features of its incompatibility will be repeated here:

(a). The location of the camp on the 137th meridian of longitude is totally at variance with Mr. Peary's statement that at noon April 6, the camp was on the Columbia meridian, which is 70 West, *Mr. Mitchell being in error West 67 degrees of longitude in his location of the camp.*

(b). Had Mr. Peary followed the route plotted by Mr. Mitchell the sun would not, as he states, have been in his front at midnight, but would have passed his front *hours before midnight.*

(c). The traverse shown by Mr. Mitchell is totally at variance with Mr. Peary's claims that he passed *north* along the Columbia meridian seven miles beyond the pole, and returned *north* and *south* directly along the same route to the camp. The traverse shown is neither *north* nor *south.*

(d). The location of the camp on the 137th meridian is in conflict with Mr. Peary's statement that at 6 a. m. of April 7, the camp was in the direction of Behring Strait, this being the 170th meridian, *Mr. Mitchell being in error East 33 degrees of longitude* in his location of the camp.

(e). The location of the camp on the 137th meridian is in conflict with Mr. Peary's statement that at noon of April 7, the camp was on the Columbia meridian (70 West) Mr. Mitchell being in error West 67 degrees of longitude in his location of the camp.

7. Quoting Mr. Mitchell again, page 137 of the record:

"On the morning of the 7th, when observations showed that Camp Jessup was probably in the direction of Behring Sea from the pole, a march of 8 miles was made in the direction of the sun, under the belief it was being viewed directly over the pole. Computations of the azimuth of the sun at the time of

observation (6:40 a. m.) showed, however, that it was 20° to the right of the pole, and the line of march was plotted accordingly."

Mr. Mitchell here again falls into error as to the standard of time. The 6:40 a. m. time he plots as 6:40 a. m. Columbia meridian time, when it is 6:40 a. m. 60th meridian time, and the azimuth of the sun is 10 degrees less than Mr. Mitchell figured it, the sun having to travel 40 minutes, or two-thirds of an hour in time, before it reached the point on the horizon plotted by Mr. Mitchell. This error of Mr. Mitchell is against Mr. Peary.

8. As to the traverse plotted by Mr. Mitchell. In answer to Mr. Roberts of the committee, Mr. Mitchell *strongly* emphasized, pages 138 and 139 of the report, *the value of several observations for accuracy, stating that while a single observation does not give a position, two observations do.* Then, I would like to know, when Mr. Peary gives, on April 6 at noon, the location of Camp Jessup as on the Columbia or 70th West meridian, on April 7 at 6 a. m. the location of the same camp as in the direction of the Behring Strait or 170th West meridian, and on April 7 at noon, the location as on the Columbia or 70th West meridian, why does not Mr. Mitchell follow his own rule and locate the camp on the Columbia or 70th West meridian, two out of three statements by Mr. Peary himself locating it there? But Mr. Mitchell locates it *at neither of the positions mentioned by Mr. Peary,* but on the 137th meridian, yet no longitudinal observations have been submitted by Mr. Peary, therefore no error to be allowed for except the insignificant error of ten minutes in the chronometer time.

Mr. Peary says that when he made camp on April 6, it was on the Columbia (70 West) meridian. What right or authority has Mr. Mitchell to locate it on the 137th meridian?

Mr. Peary says that when he returned to the same camp 18 hours later, at 6 a. m. of the 7th, and took further observations, the camp was in the direction of Behring Strait, that is, the 170th West meridian. What right or authority has Mr. Mitchell to place it on the 137th meridian West?

Mr. Peary says that when he returned to the camp again six hours later, at noon of April 7, the camp was on the Columbia meridian, the 70th west. What right or authority has Mr. Mitchell to place it on the 137th meridian West?

No right or authority in any instance. Accepting the statement that the chronometer was 10 minutes fast. That would place Mr. Peary on the 67½ degree meridian in the first

and third instances, and on the 167½ degree meridian in the second distance. Why then the 137th meridian in any case? *Only 10 minues difference in time between Mr. Peary's chronometer and true time, yet Mr. Mitchell in the one instance makes a difference of 67 degrees or 4 hours and 28 minutes in the azimuth position of the sun to the west, and in the other a difference of 2 hours and 12 minutes in the azimuth position of the sun to the east.*

The traverse plotted by Mr. Mitchell, showing Mr. Peary's route crossing the 90th meridian West at an angle, to the 137th degree of longitude at latitude 89° 55′ 23″, is a deliberate falsity. There is not a word anywhere by Mr. Peary to show that he made such a route. In fact, he not only gives no longitude, but says he took no longitude observations, and nowhere does Mr. Peary say or show that he was on the 137th meridian of longitude, and the ten minutes error in the chronometer is totally negligible.

If Mr. Peary made the 70th or Columbia meridian his standard of time, as plainly he did, there seems no reason why his chronometer should not have been set by him to that meridian, in which case the error of time from the base at Cape Columbia to the Pole would not have amounted to more than about a minute, but even accepting the error of ten minutes, would not make any but a negligible difference in the analysis, amounting to a displacement in the azimuth circle of only 2½ degrees, and this would be compensated by an automatic displacement of 2½ degrees on the opposite side of the horizon.

Owing to Mr. Mitchell falsely plotting Mr. Peary's claimed position on the 137th meridian West longitude, the traverse toward the sun appears in the western hemisphere, whereas starting from the 170th meridian West the traverse would be, as I have plotted it, in the eastern hemisphere.

On every essential feature and statement, Mr. Mitchell's statements are false. Mr. Mitchell's testimony is that of an expert for Mr. Peary, not that of an impartial investigator, and misleading and erroneous in the extreme, given as well as that of Mr. Tittmann and Mr. Gannett, plainly to bolster up a very weak cause and used only with a view to deceive those who may not be informed in such matters. Further, the testimony shows that Mr. Peary was in consultation with Mr. Mitchell at such a late day, making a futile effort to patch up the weak places, but all is false and there is no truth in it. Mr. Mitchell may juggle figures but he cannot juggle the sun. It neither moves nor stops at his behest.

An examination of Mr. Peary's testimony before the subcommittee on Naval affairs shows plainly that the so-called examination of Mr. Peary's data by the special committee of the National Geographic Society was the hollowest kind of a sham and a disgrace to science, a gross imposition and deliberate falsehood perpetrated upon the people of the United States and upon the world. A perversion of truth and a fraud upon history. Even Mr. Peary, who was present at the examination, would not say that any one of the committee had read his record, in fact he did say in effect that only slight casual examination was made of it.

That men of eminence should favor and lend themselves to such iniquities passes the understanding.

SUMMARY

OF THE ANALYSIS OF MR. MITCHELL'S STATEMENTS

1. Mr. Tittmann and Mr. Gannett, as members of the committee of the National Geographic Society, which so unscientifically and grossly erratically declared Mr. Peary to be the discoverer of the North Pole, have an interest in bolstering up Mr. Peary's claims to cover up their own iniquities.

2. Mr. Tittmann being Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Mr. Mitchell, an expert computer in that department, the relationship of employer and employee practically exists between them, and Mr. Mitchell's testimony should be considered with that fact in view. Mr. Mitchell's entry in the matter was not at the behest of Congress, but at the instance of his superior who has a personal interest in the matter. Why this use of a department employee by the Superintendent of his department in a matter of personal interest to his superior?

3. Throughout Mr. Mitchell's testimony, it is found that he is guilty of substitution. Directing the attention to minute errors of latitude due to the error of ten minutes in the time of the chronometer, and directing the attention away from errors of longitude and other statements which show the utter falsity of Mr. Peary's claims.

4. Mr. Mitchell's statements are based upon Mr. Peary's claims being true. Nothing that Mr. Mitchell has done has any bearing whatever on the question of whether Mr. Peary's claims are true or not.

5. According to Mr. Mitchell, such observations cannot be faked, which is equivalent to saying that a skilled astronomer cannot calculate in advance the occurrence of an eclipse.

6. According to Mr. Mitchell, such observations cannot be faked. Therefore, if Dr. Cook submits reasonably accurate polar latitude observations, Dr. Cook discovered the Pole, and Mitchell, Gannett and Tittmann and others who have held similarly are bound by their holding.

7. If Mr. Peary's claims to the discovery of the Pole are shown to be fraudulent, then Mr. Mitchell is, to that extent, correct, that observations cannot be faked, but the very observations and the identical man, the validity of whose observations Mr. Mitchell argues for, would be found to be fraudulent.

8. According to Mr. Mitchell, it is an utter impossibility to fake an observation. An explorer, desiring to fake an observation, could not therefore submit it privately to one or more experts and, having had its faults, if any, corrected, then submit it to the public and have it pass muster. This is counter to the present day experience when it seems that all the experts and most of the professors are influenced to make the truth seem untrue, and the false seem true.

9. Mr. Mitchell, making niceties of corrections to cover ten minutes error in the time of the chronometer, mistakes such corrections to be the establishment of the truth of the observation itself. He mistakes the sum or problem for the fact.

10. Mr. Mitchell, making much ado over niceties of corrections due to error of ten minutes in the chronometer time, himself makes an error in the standard of time four times as great as the chronometer error. Mistaking the Columbia or 70th West time for 60th meridian time, thus vitiating and hopelessly over-balancing and rendering worthless all his own calculations, making same far more erroneous than any error due to the ten minutes error of the chronometer.

11. In stating that Mr. Peary's observations gave a determination of Camp Jessup as being in longitude 137° 00′ West, Mr. Mitchell is guilty of a grossly reprehensible act, being a culpable intrusion by Mr. Mitchell of vitally important matter to fill a serious void in Mr. Peary's work, for absolutely nothing is given in Mr. Peary's observations regarding the longitudinal position of the camp. Mr. Peary, in fact, having admitted that he did not make a longitudinal observation within 300 miles of the Pole.

12. Mr. Mitchell, in stating that the observations of

the sun at midnight of April 6 were made midnight sixtieth meridian West time, is in error, as the time was midnight Columbia meridian or 70 West time.

13. Mr. Mitchell's plot showing the traverse of Mr. Peary's claimed movements at the Pole, is in hopeless error and in contradiction on every point of every statement made by Mr. Peary on the same subject. The location of the camp on the 137th meridian West being in error 67 degrees west; again being in error 33 degrees east; again being in error 67 degrees west; the sun at night passing the position hours before the time specified by Mr. Peary; and the line of travel being neither north nor south, as specified by Mr. Peary.

14. Mr. Mitchell again mistakes the standard of time, for the 6 a. m. observation of the 7th, taking it at 6:40 a. m. Columbia meridian or 70 West time, whereas it is 6 a. m. Columbia meridian, or 6:40 sixtieth meridian time. He misplaces the azimuth position of the sun 10 degrees, or 40 minutes in time of the sun, an error four times the error of the chronometer to which his corrections must be confined.

15. Mr. Mitchell lays down the proposition that whereas one observation does not give a position two observations do, but himself violates the rule in that he does not place the position of the camp at the position given by two of Mr. Peary's three observations. In fact, Mr. Mitchell throws his own rule to the winds, for he does not place the camp at any of the three positions assigned to it by the statements of Mr. Peary, and there is no mention of any errors to justify this displacement.

16. Mr. Mitchell, without any justification or reason whatever, falsely places the position of the camp 67 degrees West of the position stated by Mr. Peary.

17. Mr. Mitchell, without any justification or reason whatever, falsely places the position of the camp 33 degrees East of the position stated by Mr. Peary.

18. Again, Mr. Mitchell, without any justification or reason whatever, falsely places the position of the camp 67 degrees west of the position stated by Mr. Peary.

19. Mr. Mitchell, in showing Mr. Peary's route to be approaching the Pole at an angle crossing the 90th meridian West to the 137th meridian West longitude at latitude 89° 55′ 23″ does so falsely without any warrant or authority whatever.

20. Mr. Mitchell, having falsely placed the position of the 137th meridian West longitude, falsely shows

the traverse toward the sun to be in the Western Hemisphere, whereas, if the statements of Mr. Peary were true that part of the route would have been made in the Eastern Hemisphere.

21. All of Mitchell's, Gannett's, and Tittman's testimony is but part of an effort to bolster up a very weak cause, to cover up the wrongs of the committee of the National Geographic Society.

22. Mr. Peary's testimony before the Congressional Committee is itself sufficient to show that the committee of the National Geographic Society did not make a proper examination of Mr. Peary's data, and in declaring Mr. Peary the discoverer of the North Pole without having made a proper and sufficient examination of the date, they perpetrated a gross iniquity upon the people of America and the whole world, and tried to foist a fraud upon history.

Mr. Peary charged Dr. Cook with having handed the people a "gold brick." Mr. Peary has handed the public something much worse than a gold brick.

W. J. ARMBRUSTER.

St. Louis, Mo., February 19, 1911.

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